

Title of PhD:

Secondary Education in BBC Broadcast 1944–1965:
drawing out networks of conversation and visions of reform

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the representation of Local Education Authority (LEA) secondary schooling in England and Wales as it was portrayed in non-fiction British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) programmes in the twenty-one years that followed the 1944 Education Act. The primary sources drawn on for this study include the surviving microfilmed radio scripts, dating from 1944–1965 and held at the BBC Written Archives (BBC WAC). The correspondence files from contributors to programmes also provide a key source from BBC WAC. The majority of the programmes considered are radio broadcast, however some documentary films on the topic of secondary education, made by the BBC and transmitted on television, are also analysed. Where audio-visual copies have survived, the programmes were viewed at the BFI Viewing Services. The study draws on 235 BBC programmes in total, made in the years 1944–1965. The details of these broadcasts can be seen in the three Appendices accompanying this study. The study also employs the use of drawing to present key ideas.

This study explores how broadcasts are formed as cultural products. The research questions address: what was the content of these programmes? Who collaborated to create and edit these programmes and how were the programmes devised to inform the public about the provision of secondary education? What was the role of the All Souls Group (ASG) in this collaboration? The public included a domestic audience in England and Wales and an overseas audience for whom distinct broadcasts were usually created. A further element of the research is a scrutiny of the BBC as an organization that positions itself as neutral. The considered programmes enabled a group of eloquent educationalists to use their rehearsed and edited ‘conversation’ on a public stage. As the study unfolds it becomes apparent that the members of the informal education discussion group, the ASG, were lobbying to encourage the topic of secondary education to resurface sufficiently often on air. The study concludes with recognition that the reinforcing of loyalties between overlapping networks, such as the BBC and the ASG, should no longer be approached with reticence in academic research.

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Table of Principal Characters in this Study

Name	Dates	Profession and Military Service (if any)	Contributed freelance to BBC broadcasts discussing secondary education (1944–1965)	Employed by the BBC	Recorded attendance at the All Souls Group (1944–1965) (See Key to Appendices page 221 for further details)
Roger Noel Armfelt	1897–1955	Royal Garrison Artillery (WW1), (Former) CEO, BBC Staff, Academic,	✓	✓	✓
Catherine Avent	Born 1919	Women’s Royal Naval Service, Careers Advisor,	✓	✗	✓
Geoffrey Bantock	1914–1997	Academic,	✓	✗	✗
Kenneth Norman Bell	1884–1951	Royal Garrison Artillery (WW1), Academic,	✓	✗	✓
Robert Beloe	1905–1984	CEO, Secretary to Archbishop of Canterbury,	✓	✗	✓
Isa Benzie	1902–1988	BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗
Robert Birley	1903–1982	Head Teacher, Educational Advisor, Involved with German Educational Reconstruction,	✓	✗	✓
Edward Blishen	1920–1996	Teacher, Author,	✓	✗	✗
John Boorman	Born 1933	Filmmaker,	✗	✓	✗
Barry Bucknell	1912–2003	Builder, BBC Broadcaster,	✓	✗	✗
Francis Cammaerts	1916–2006	SOE, Head teacher, University Administrator,	✓	✗	✓
Richard Cawston	1923–1986	Royal Signals, BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗
Alec Clegg	1909–1986	CEO,	✓	✗	✓
Harold Dent	1894–1995	Teacher, Journalist, Academic,	✓	✗	✓
Charles Denton	Born 1937	BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗

Name	Dates	Profession and Military Service (if any)	Contributed freelance to BBC broadcasts discussing secondary education (1944–1965)	Employed by the BBC	Recorded attendance at the All Souls Group (1944–1965) (See Key to Appendices page 221 for further details)
Norman Fisher	1910–1972	Major, Army Education Corps, CEO,	✓	✗	✓
Arthur Brownlow Fforde	1900–1985	Head Teacher, Solicitor, Chair of BBC Governors,	✗	✗	✗
Tony Gibson	1920–2014	BBC Staff,	✓ Most work was freelance but employed for a short period by BBC	✓	✗
Ronald Gould	1904–1986	General Secretary of National Union of Teachers,	✓	✗	✗
Mary Green	1913–2004	Head teacher,	✓	✗	✓
Harman Grisewood	1906–1997	BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗
Brian Groombridge	1926–2015	RAF, Broadcaster, Academic,	✓	✗	✗
Richard Hoggart	1918–2014	Royal Artillery, Academic,	✗	✗	✓
Ian Jacob	1899–1993	Major General (British Army), Director General BBC,	✗	✓	✗
Brian Jackson	1932–1983	Teacher, Author, Educational Reformer,	✓	✗	✗
Eric James	1909–1992	Head teacher, University Administrator,	✓	✗	✓
Montagu Vaughan Castleman Jeffreys (M V C Jeffreys)	1900–1985	Academic,	✓	✗	✓
Marion Knight	1945–2013	Former pupil of John Pounds Secondary Modern, Author and Educator,	✓	✗	✗
Kenneth Lindsay	1897–1991	MP, Parliamentary Secretary Board of Education 1937–1940.	✓	✗	✓

Name	Dates	Profession and Military Service (if any)	Contributed freelance to BBC broadcasts discussing secondary education (1944–1965)	Employed by the BBC	Recorded attendance at the All Souls Group (1944–1965) (See Key to Appendices page 221 for further details)
Sandie Lindsay (Alexander Dunlop Lindsay)	1879–1952	Academic, University Administrator,	✓	✗	✓
Richard Winn Livingstone	1880–1960	Academic, University Administrator,	✗	✗	✗
Jack Longland	1905–1993	CEO, Mountaineer,	✓	✗	✓
Trevor Lovett	1899–1980	Head Teacher,	✓	✗	✗
Stuart Maclure	1926–2011	Merchant Navy, Journalist, Historian,	✓	✗	✓
John Redcliffe Maud	1906–1982	Rhodes Scholar, Academic, Civil Servant,	✓	✗	✓
Margaret Miles	1911–1994	Head Teacher,	✓	✗	✓
Ben Morris	1910–1990	Teacher, Psychologist, Academic, Honorary Lieutenant-colonel,	✓	✗	✗
Henry Morris	1889–1961	Royal Army Service Corps (WW1) CEO	✓	✗	✓
Percy Newby	1918–1997	Royal Army Medical Corps, Teacher, BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗
John Newsom	1919–1971	CEO, Director at Publishing House,	✓	✗	✓
Mary Helen Ogilvie	1900–1990	Academic,	✓	✗	✓
Robin Pedley	1914–1988	Academic,	✓	✗	✗
Alexander Duncan Campbell Peterson (A D C Peterson)	1908–1988	SOE, Head Teacher, Academic,	✓	✗	✓
Richmond Postgate	1909–1991	BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗

Name	Dates	Profession and Military Service (if any)	Contributed freelance to BBC broadcasts discussing secondary education (1944–1965)	Employed by the BBC	Recorded attendance at the All Souls Group (1944–1965) (See Key to Appendices page 221 for further details)
William Owen Lester Smith (W O Lester Smith)	1888–1976	CEO, Academic,	✓	✗	✓
Frederick Lincoln Ralphs	1909–1978	CEO,	✓	✗	✓
Herbert Read	1893–1968	Lieutenant Yorkshire Regiment (WW1), Civil Servant, Author,	✗	✗	✓
Harry Rée	1914–1991	SOE, Head Teacher, University administrator,	✓	✗	✓
Jean Rowntree	1905–2003	Teacher, BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗
Graham Savage	1886–1981	Royal West Kent Regiment (WW1), CEO,	✓	✗	✓ (not associated with ASG from mid 1950s)
John Scupham	1904–1990	Teacher BBC Staff	✗	✓	✗
Brian Simon	1915–2002	Royal Signals (WW2) Academic	✓	✗	✗
Ernest Simon	1879–1960	MP, Industrialist, Chair of BBC Board of Governors,	✓	✗	✗
Shena Simon	1883–1972	Local Politician, Author,	✓	✗	✗
Mary Sommerville	1897–1963	BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗
John Usborne	1915–1965	Teacher,	✓	✗	✗
Toby Weaver	1911–2001	Civil Servant,	✓	✗	✓
Joseph Weltman	1910–2004	RAF Intelligence, BBC Staff,	✗	✓	✗

Name	Dates	Profession and Military Service (if any)	Contributed freelance to BBC broadcasts discussing secondary education (1944–1965)	Employed by the BBC	Recorded attendance at the All Souls Group (1944–1965) <i>(See Key to Appendices page 221 for further details)</i>
John Frederick Wolfenden	1906–1985	Head teacher, University Administrator,	✓	✗	✓
Sydney Herbert Wood	1884–1958	Served in WW1, Civil Servant, Involved with German Educational Reconstruction,	✓	✗	✗
Michael Young	1915–2002	Sociologist, Social Entrepreneur,	✗ He discussed his satire 'The Rise of the Meritocracy' but not actual secondary schools.	✗	✗

Key to Abbreviations in the above table:

SOE – Special Operations Executive conducted espionage and reconnaissance in Occupied Europe and Asia and helped resistance movements, during World War Two.

CEO – Chief Education Officer for a Local Education Authority.

Glossary of BBC Radio and Television Service History

BBC Forces Programme and BBC General Forces Programme	BBC Forces radio station operated from 1940–1944 and was replaced from 1944–1946 by BBC General Forces. It was intended for soldiers but was popular with civilians. The programmes were broadcast in the United Kingdom and Overseas.
BBC Home	BBC Home broadcast from 1939 –1967. Emphasis was on news, information programmes and drama. Home Service had seven regions: London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol. Cardiff, Glasgow and Belfast. In 1967 it was replaced by Radio 4.
BBC Light	BBC Light broadcast music and light entertainment from 1945–1967 for a United Kingdom audience, including discussion programmes understood to be of popular interest. Light inherited the frequencies and transmitters of General Forces Programme. In 1967 it was replaced by Radio 2.

BBC Overseas Service	An umbrella term for BBC radio broadcasts which were transmitted to different areas of the globe. It began in 1932 with broadcasts to Australia, India, South Africa, West Africa and Canada developing across the 1930s. Until 1939 it was known as the Empire Service and from 1965 renamed as the World Service.
Different divisions of BBC Overseas Service	Foreign language BBC Overseas service began in 1938 with Arabic and Latin American services, in addition to European news broadcasts in German, French and Italian. These foreign language services extended during World War Two to include broadcasts in 43 languages to Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and Russia. Services went out in English as well as other languages. All of the different subdivisions of Overseas broadcast are collectively referred to as 'Overseas' during the period with which this study is concerned. These following categories appear as subdivisions in the archival material used and featured both English language and foreign language broadcasts: Asian, Australian, European, Far Eastern, General Overseas, Hindustani, North American, Pacific, Persian and West Indies.
BBC Third Programme	BBC Third broadcast music, arts and discussion programmes from 1946–1970 for a United Kingdom audience. It was replaced by Radio 3 in 1970.
BBC Network Three	Evening discussion programmes which used the frequency of BBC Third from 1957–1965.
BBC Television	BBC television resumed broadcast in 1946, after closing on 1 September 1939 when outbreak of war had been imminent.
BBC One	BBC television was renamed as BBC One once BBC Two began broadcast in 1964.
BBC Two	BBC television began broadcasting on its second channel in 1964.

Introduction

The truth is nobody knows what is required in the extension of secondary education... We are ignorant and should walk humbly until we learn ... we should regard the next twenty years as an experimental period and commit ourselves to no conclusions until we have evidences on which to decide which is best ... educational experiments cannot be judged on a few short term samples ... much is at stake: nothing less than the future of our country and the spiritual, mental and physical life of millions of citizens yet unborn ... it is not just a pattern of administration but as Keats said of 'soul making.'

John Newsom *Willingly to School*, (SCM Press Ltd, 1944), 62.

Purpose of This Study

This study examines the representation of Local Education Authority (LEA) secondary schooling in England and Wales, as it was portrayed in non-fiction British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) programmes in the twenty-one years that followed the 1944 Education Act. This Act aimed to introduce 'Secondary education for All' and for the most part provided education in England and Wales under the Tripartite System, with performance in the eleven-plus, taken in the last year of primary school, determining whether a child went to secondary modern, technical or grammar school.¹ The Act also introduced Direct Grant schools, which were formerly Independent but now this small proportion of grammar schools, distinct from LEA grammar schools, accepted scholarship pupils.² This study of the broadcast BBC material ends in 1965, the year of Circular 10/65, when LEAs were encouraged, but not forced, to move towards the provision of comprehensive schooling, rather than selective secondary education.

The opening sentences are quoted from the writings of John Newsom (Figure 1). Educated at Imperial Service College, Windsor and The Queen's College, Oxford, Newsom was Chief Education Officer (CEO) of Hertfordshire from 1940–1956, a regular broadcaster on the BBC from the 1930s onwards and the convener of a self-selecting educational discussion group known as the All Souls Group (ASG) for the entire 21-year period considered in this study. The contribution of members of this group to BBC programmes representing secondary education is scrutinized in

¹ This wording is first associated with R.H.Tawney (ed.), *Secondary Education for all: a policy for Labour* (London: The Labour Party 1922).

² Scholarship fees to Direct Grant grammar schools were paid by the Ministry of Education or LEA. There were 179 Direct Grant grammars and more than 1200 LEA grammar schools in the period considered, but as this study shows the Direct Grant grammar school 'voices' often received particular coverage from the BBC.

subsequent chapters. The opening quote dates from the first year of evidence considered, 1944, and is taken from Newsom's published writings where he implied that the troubles of the world provided something for the moral journey of the soul to struggle against. Keats considered the soul to be distinct from intelligence and rational understanding, something that could be constructed by a collaboration of the intelligence, emotional feeling and environment.³

The primary sources drawn on for this study include the surviving microfilmed scripts from broadcast radio programmes dating from 1944–1965 held at the BBC Written Archives, Caversham, Reading (BBC WAC). These scripts revealed some monologues and some contrived and edited discussions between groups of speakers who analysed the postwar provision of secondary education. Few of the programmes were transmitted live. The correspondence files from contributors whose voices were heard in these programmes provided a key source at BBC WAC. Few broadcast sound recordings from this period have survived. Documentary films are also used, most of which showed secondary schools in action and were specifically made for BBC television between 1950–1965. A few of the television programmes considered were actually studio-based discussions about secondary education but most were filmed on location. This study draws on 235 BBC programmes made in the years 1944–1965. The details of these broadcasts can be seen in the three Appendices accompanying this study. Only programmes that are concerned with the representation of secondary education appear in these Appendices, although other programmes concerning other aspects of education are briefly mentioned in the study as a whole and details are given in these instances in the footnotes. Programmes scheduled for the domestic audience are drawn on for this study from BBC 'Light', 'Third' 'Network Three' and 'Home' Services. Very occasional General Forces radio broadcasts are also included, for example for the year 1944 when soldiers overseas were looking to have their questions answered about the 1944 Act. The term 'domestic audience' is used to refer to audiences listening in various regions of England and Wales to programmes that were transmitted to them as the envisaged audience as opposed to Overseas broadcast.⁴ The radio programmes used in this study

³ Keats discussed these ideas in his letter to George and Georgiana Keats, 21 April 1819, H E Rollins (ed.) *Letters of John Keats 1814–1821* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard, 1958), 102.

⁴ Background information is provided in the 'Glossary of BBC Radio and Television Service History' provided on pages v-vi. Details of the individual programmes considered are listed in three Appendices in the Reference Section of this study from page 220 onwards. 'Overseas' was used from 1939–1965 as

include BBC Overseas broadcasts. The term ‘Overseas’ is used as an umbrella term for BBC programmes transmitted on the various services provided for different parts of the globe. In the Appendices for this study the collective term Overseas is sometimes used as well as the other subdivisions as they appear in the BBC WAC archives: Asian, Australian, European, Far Eastern, General Overseas, Hindustani, North American, Pacific, Persian and West Indies.⁵ When available the subsequent discussion of programmes mention the precise region for which an individual transmission was intended but all these subdivisions are also collectively referred to as Overseas. The documentary film footage considered for this study was broadcast on BBC TV and in some later instances on BBC 1 and BBC 2 when the channels were renamed. BBC 2 began in 1964. The three Appendices give as much detail on each programme as can be identified in the given categories, however time of transmission is deliberately not included because this varied according to the time zone where programmes were audible and the reach of different programmes to different areas cannot always be identified retrospectively.

This study explores how broadcasts are formed as cultural products. The research questions address: what was the content of these programmes, who collaborated to create and edit these programmes and how were the programmes devised to inform the public and consequently to have some hoped-for impact on public opinion. The hope for an impact on public opinion is discussed but the actual impact on public opinion of these programmes is not understood as something that can be measured. A further research question, which brings together the study as a whole, is a scrutiny of the BBC as an organization that positions itself as neutral. Chapters focus on both the content of programmes and the relationship between that content and the programme makers contributing. An account is constructed that suggests that cliques and other overlapping informal groups of powerful individuals, who built networks at the BBC, together offered a perspective, which cannot be defined as neutrality.

the former name for the BBC World Service, hence the use of capital letters. Overseas was an important tool for promoting UK Foreign policy objectives and funded by the Foreign Office. Initially it had been established as an Empire service for diasporic Britons. In the early years of the Cold War it ‘retained its geopolitical importance’. See M. Gillespie and A. Webb (eds.) in *Diasporas and Diplomacy: cosmopolitan contact zones at the BBC World Service (1932–2012)* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 3.

⁵ For further details on the BBC transmission of programmes to different regions of the globe see the ‘Glossary of BBC Radio and Television Service History’ page v-vi.

The wording of the subtitle of this study seeks to emphasize particular concerns when interpreting this evidence. The word ‘conversation’ in the subtitle refers both to the informal conversations in private members clubs, at dinner parties and amongst friends at home and to the more formal conversations that took place at official work meetings. It also refers to the conversations broadcast on air. Some of these were artificial conversations created by an editor working with pre-recorded tapes of individuals speaking without the presence of anyone who audibly disagreed with them. Others were actual conversations between individuals sharing space in the same studio, sometimes after having been given drinks and dinner by the BBC. The broadcast programmes allowed a group of eloquent educationalists to use their ‘conversation’ – rehearsed, edited and at times censored – on a public stage. Both through the use of language in radio, and from the 1950s onwards through words and moving image in television programmes, ‘visions of reform’ could be choreographed to create persuasive and at times unsettling footage. The choice of the wording in the subtitle ‘visions of reform’ doesn’t just apply to documentary film, but also to the use of language to conjure visions of new ways of educating communities. Wrigley observes that postwar radio made use of ‘messenger speech’, a dramatic device in which action which has taken place elsewhere is described verbally rather than presented visually to the audience.⁶

There was no fixed BBC procedure as to how broadcasts were made. The content of programmes was devised and commissioned in a number of formal and informal ways. Some programmes were pieced together quickly. Others evolved over a period of years. As the files from most outside contributors to BBC programmes have been preserved quite systematically by BBC WAC it is possible to understand the huge dependence that the staff had on outsiders, not dissimilar from a self-employed workforce working for media companies today. A core group of BBC staff drew in different educationalists to comment on air and they were paid per contribution. Sometimes this continued with the same regular contributors being depended upon across the decades. Sometimes trust appears to have developed on the basis of the respect accorded to the contributors by the long-term BBC staff. Other factors complicate the negotiations however, factors that are not always visible in surviving archive material. Findings from Audience Research reports and pressure from the

⁶ A. Wrigley, *Greece on Air* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 98.

most senior staff at the BBC could also influence who found themselves speaking into the microphone or captured on documentary film. While many educationalists were heard on air arguing that the teacher in the classroom must be trusted to teach without undue interference from external bodies, the programme makers in the BBC studio were unlikely to be granted the same trust or privacy as teachers, because they were presenting a message heard far beyond the walls of a school. Instead these speakers were addressing a region, a nation, or a number of Overseas countries. There were times when a group of friends could put forward an idea and proceed to make a programme at the BBC pretty much unhindered with willing collaboration from BBC staff. At other times various members of BBC staff would block and adapt proposals and change the contributors to the programmes.

Many of the contributors to BBC programmes, who concerned themselves with the depiction of secondary education in this period, started out in the immediate postwar years, with a determined mission to ensure what Newsom described as a change of ‘social attitude and views ... this revolution in ideas...’ on the subject of secondary education.⁷ The writer on cultural studies, Richard Hoggart (Figure 2) only became involved with BBC broadcasting in the 1950s but his wartime reservations about civilians lacking a sense of conscience for European responsibility are revealing in terms of understanding the perceived need for a revolution in education. Hoggart remembered eavesdropping in London when on leave from the army in 1945 and feeling shocked that the general public did not appear to have the immediate sense of responsibility for change that he had learned to expect from his conversations ‘in the hermetic insulation of an army overseas’. He felt that the troops were committed to their ‘social responsibility for mankind’ whereas civilians saw the recent suffering ‘more as a hiatus.’ Hoggart concluded: ‘we must take up a life of ‘spiritual caravanning’ if our children are to have any chance of decency.’⁸

The documentary filmmaker John Grierson is known for his belief in documentary as an educational tool. His mission to communicate social information through film had an impact on broadcasters from the 1930s onwards. However, none of his filmmaking at any stage in his career was focused on mainstream secondary school

⁷ ASG/1/16: ‘The All Souls Group: The First Ten Years. Recollections from Kenneth Lindsay to mark its fortieth year’. June 1981, Records of the All Souls Group, Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL.

⁸ The Richard Hoggart Papers: University of Sheffield Library and Archive. MS 247: 2/3/5 ‘Goodbye to England. A letter to a lot of Englishmen’. Bears note in ms: London Resettlement Course. Ts. Aug 1945.

provision and his contributions to BBC programmes postwar did not touch on LEA provision. Nor did the networks of individuals I examine in this study leave any archival record at BBC WAC that discussed Grierson, or for instance the film output of Humphrey Jennings. This may have been partly that radio dominated the BBC discussion of secondary education for most of the period under consideration, and reflections on documentary filmmakers played no part in the construction of broadcast conversation. It may also have been because the postwar BBC staff concerned with representing secondary education on air saw their work as a distinct responsibility, quite different, for instance, from the filmmaking of Jennings who focused both on working duties and family lives in his films.⁹ For the television programmes that are discussed in this study the vision of documentary as an educational tool is not followed unquestioningly. Documentary as entertainment is also increasingly a preoccupation, as illustrated in Chapter 3. Furthermore, United Kingdom feature films about LEA secondary education in English and Welsh schools were not produced in the years 1944–1965, so none are discussed in this study.¹⁰

Before introducing the networks that contributed to the programme content in more depth, it needs to be made clear the types of programmes which fall outside the remit of this study. BBC radio broadcasts or documentary films that are concerned with nursery schools, primary schools, home schooling, borstals or any kind of reform school, independent schools, adult education provision or universities are not discussed in depth. Programmes about co-educational or single-sex schools do not dominate this study but inevitably these parallel debates impacted discussion on secondary education as a whole, so some are included if the emphasis is on the over eleven age group. There were more programmes, made between 1944 and 1965,

⁹ Humphrey Jennings (1907–1950) was involved with the founding of the Mass Observation movement and worked for the General Post Office Film Unit and later the Crown Film Unit, creating films for the Ministry of Information. His films included ‘Fires Were Started’ (1943) and ‘A Diary for Timothy’ (1945).

¹⁰ John Grierson (1898–1972) was educated at the University of Glasgow and was also involved in documentary filmmaking for The Empire Marketing Board, the National Film Board of Canada and for Scottish television. Postwar, Grierson was involved himself with very little hands-on filmmaking. He worked for UNESCO as director of mass media and for the Central Office of Information. His primary interests in this period were postwar reconstruction beyond the realm of formal education. One example of Grierson’s guest appearance in radio discussions programmes is: ‘The Younger Generation Film-Going’, BBC Light, 19.3.52. One example of a feature film made in the period under discussion is ‘Blackboard Jungle’ (1955, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) based on a novel by Evan Hunter. It concerns social and ethnic tensions at a manual trades high school in the USA. Frank Launder’s 1954 film ‘The Belles of St Trinians’ is focused on illicit activity in an English girls’ boarding school and makes no reference to LEA secondary school provision.

analyzing what boys and girls might do with their education long term, than programmes that scrutinized the impact of either single-sex or co-educational learning. Geographically the coverage of mainstream secondary schools in England and Wales is focused on and scripts which look at secondary education overseas either in Europe, the Commonwealth or beyond are rarely included unless there is a particular argument being put forward that is relevant to the English and Welsh contemporary secondary school experience. Exceptions are the BBC programmes that focus on comparisons between schooling in England and Wales and the USA or the USSR. These programmes actively asked questions as to whether the contemporary secondary school might either learn from or be shocked by practices in these nations. There are very occasional examples where Scottish educators contribute to programmes but these are rare as Scotland oversaw a distinct development of secondary schools postwar which differed from Welsh or English models and the BBC avoided focusing on regional variation whenever possible.¹¹

Programmes that focus on the religious education of pupils do not appear frequently in this study. Many BBC programmes that concerned the religious element of education between 1944 and 1965 were concerned with all ages of schooling and not secondary school in particular. Religious Education and the BBC has been the focus of separate studies, for example the work of Parker, and there would be a danger when secondary education is the focus in this study of dealing with issues of religious education superficially.¹² Fictional coverage of secondary schooling or broadcasts that were made for schools specifically, as part of the BBC Schools Broadcasting, are not generally included. However there are occasional exceptions to this. There are occasional Schools Broadcasting programmes mentioned in this study, when they are aimed at sixth form young adult audiences and specifically reflected on secondary education for all, but the majority of school broadcasting is not considered as it aimed at a distinctive audience in its formative years. The Appendices and subsequent chapters also reveal occasional infrequent examples of programmes on radio and television that are partly fictional because there were phases when drama

¹¹ Scotland's Education Act of 1945 did not establish a Tripartite System. It consolidated earlier measures to establish universal secondary education and worked independently from England and Wales with a Scottish Education Department located in Edinburgh from 1939.

¹² For detailed analysis of the BBC and religious education see for instance S. Parker 'Teach them to pray Auntie: Children's Hour Prayers at the BBC, 1940–1961', *History of Education*, Vol. 39, 2010: 5. & S. G. Parker, J. Crutchley and S. Roberts, *Religious Education in British Broadcasting: a history*, (Forthcoming OUP, 2019).

documentaries drew on contemporary experience with some fictionalized elements. This seems to have been a particular fashion in the 1950s before the influence of *cinéma-vérité* filtered into BBC circles and inspired programme makers to make space for real young people rather than actors performing the dilemmas of contemporary young people.

The main concern is how BBC programmes covering secondary education came to be made in the years 1944–1965 and how they can have their content analysed retrospectively with sensitivity to the culture and events which surrounded their production. Given the limitations on length, a greater emphasis is placed on the networks of individuals who created these products than on the wider cultural context. Audience responses to programmes are not examined routinely, although Audience Research reports are referenced intermittently. How secondary education was presented to a presumed adult or teenage audience witnessing material broadcast most often into a domestic setting is considered. Material produced for cinema presentation such as Pathé newsreels, or the documentary films made specifically for Unions or national distribution outside the sphere of broadcast television is not included in this study.¹³ A detailed examination of Independent television coverage of secondary education is also excluded. The main reason for this is that the preservation of archives for the various Independent regional broadcasting organizations does not provide access to the surviving range of material that the BBC WAC allows. This is not to suggest that Independent broadcasting coverage is entirely ignored. Some groundbreaking work in documentary film was taking place outside the BBC. However, the Independent channels' broadcast focus was not secondary education in the period this study encompasses. Granada's 'Seven Up' series, for instance, examined the home and educational lives of seven year olds in 1964. The programme makers did not return to consider their secondary education until 1970–1971, which is beyond the time frame of this study.¹⁴

Drawing on the 235 programmes about secondary education, which have left behind some archival traces at either the BBC WAC or the BFI Viewing Services, choices were made on the basis that either LEA secondary education in England and

¹³ The one exception in this study is a film portrait of a secondary modern school 'Our School' (1962). Directed by John Krish and produced by the National Union of Teachers, tx: 25.4.62 BBC TV.

¹⁴ In 1964 Granada Independent television broadcast the first in a series of documentaries about a group of children then aged 7. The children were revisited and filmed at 7-year intervals, the most recent episode being made in 2012. Paul Almond (1931–2015) directed the first episode.

Wales was their main topic, or because issues directly relating to secondary education, educational opportunity and ‘parity of esteem’ between schools dominated. In most programmes this subject matter is made explicit in the broadcast’s title but occasionally it is implicit and further explanation of a programme’s relevance to the main theme is offered in the text, footnotes or the Appendices notes section. Programmes were selected after combing through broadcasts listed in a number of different sources: BBC Written Archives Education index cards; listings from BBC Genome database; programmes mentioned in correspondence files at the BBC Written Archives or in some instances broadcasts were stumbled upon just by spooling through a microfilm reel of scripts at BBC WAC while searching for something else. This was often the case with programmes that were broadcast regionally or Overseas as their listings did not appear routinely on the online BBC Genome database at the time of researching this study. There is no comprehensive catalogue of programmes at BBC WAC. While the education index cards at BBC WAC list many programmes relevant to a study of the representation of secondary education, they omit, to give just one of many examples, a BBC programme broadcast on both General Overseas and Light entitled ‘The Briton at School’ which was made to be broadcast at the time of the Festival of Britain. The index cards and BBC Genome also often omit short but significant news items, which formed a section of broadcasts. There are also some sections of programmes included in the Appendices because they are listed as significant in contributors’ files, even though the details do not actually appear in other accessible sources. Not every single BBC programme where secondary education was considered in the years 1944–1965 has been included in this study. Some broadcasts were unscripted and some of these did not have a script constructed by teledictaphone recording at the point of transmission, which was subsequently preserved so the voices actually were lost to the airwaves. Some long running broadcasts such as ‘Any Questions’ touched intermittently on education while much of a transmission may have been concerned with other topics. There are inevitably gaps in this study.

However, this study offers a bigger survey of programmes representing secondary education than has been attempted in previous research, published or otherwise. The programmes used offer sufficient variety of archival documentation for clear patterns and themes to emerge about the BBC non-fiction representation of secondary education in the postwar decades. The selection is not partial or skewed to

suit the needs of an argument. The reference section was created first, including Figures and Appendices, so that responses to the evidence were not manipulated to serve a certain purpose. The 21-year postwar period between the 1944 Act and Circular 10/65 was deliberately chosen because the representation of secondary education during peacetime was of interest. In this postwar period the representation cannot be framed as clear-cut propaganda or jingoistic nationalism. The BBC education index cards list 173 broadcasts under the general theme ‘education’ between the outbreak of war in 1939 and the end of 1943. Most of these programmes were broadcast to an Overseas audience and can be understood as propaganda for the War effort. Some months such as January 1943 generated so much correspondence about education that the paperwork for ‘Education Talks’ needed a ring binder just for a single month. My study begins at the very point that such propaganda was waning and yet at the same time the subsequent two decades are not understood as a period of neutrality on the part of the BBC and its stance on secondary education.

Following on from this introduction and the short afterword to the introduction ‘Personal Context: Co-incidences that shaped this study’, the next chapter in sequence is the ‘Literature Review’ which situates the research in the context of historical writing on the 1944 Act itself, and writings on both the BBC and the ASG in the years 1944–1965. Next there is a ‘Methods’ chapter, which further explains the process of the research, discusses the strengths and limitations of the BBC WAC and explores drawing as a form of note taking in academic research. The main body of this study then comprises three chapters which present the findings of my research thematically but in a periodization which breaks down the material so that first eight years, then the subsequent seven years and finally the last six years of programme making are considered within the chapters. The first chapter is entitled: ‘“The Weak Spots in their Armour”: 1944–1952.’ Much of this first chapter considers the output of programmes under Labour government although the first year is under a coalition led by Churchill and the final year of this chapter sees Churchill re-elected to lead a Conservative government. The second chapter entitled: ‘“I beseech you gentlemen to believe it is possible that you may be mistaken”: 1953–1959’ explores the variety of evidence available and the increasing concern for visual representation of secondary education across the rest of 1950s at a time when a Conservative government was consistently in power. The third Chapter ‘“Shall we Throw the Dregs Away?” 1960–1965’ marks the first period where the BBC began to engage more optimistically with the

possibility of comprehensive education, while still giving space to echo doubts about any dismantling of the 1944 Act. For this chapter the Conservatives were in power for the first four and a half years and then Labour returned to govern for the last 18 months of the study. The findings show familiar recurrences in the circle of contributors to BBC programmes and yet a development in the range of content as technological and policy changes reverberated across the 21-year period. The consistency of contributors remains irrespective of which political party is in government but the extent to which these longstanding contributors are given free rein or are juxtaposed by those who disagree with their outlook alters as the outlook of BBC Director Generals and other senior staff varies and different appointments are made. The division of the evidence into these three chapters most closely matches the dates for changes in Director General of the BBC. William Haley was Director General from 1944–1952; Ian Jacob took over this role from December 1952 to December 1959 and the second chapter considers the years 1953–1959. The third chapter then looks at the first six years when Hugh Green was employed as Director General from 1960–1965. The significance of changes in Chair of Governors is also explored in subsequent chapters: Ernest Simon served from 1947–1952 and was replaced by Alexander Cadogan in 1952. Cadogan in turn was replaced by Arthur Brownlow Fforde, who served from 1957–1964 and was the only Chair of Governors in these postwar years who had been a headmaster himself, although not in an LEA school.¹⁵

Reading through files of correspondence on the production of programmes provoked many questions. Why did some ideas put forward by head teachers fall on deaf ears and others seem to neatly fit the expectations of Talks Controllers at the BBC? Once people became part of the ‘carousel’ of accepted voices depended upon to comment on secondary education, then the same contributors were re-invited again and again throughout the period. Discovering more and more relevant radio scripts from the 1950s which were giving increasing space to the voice of the teacher, particularly the headteacher, it became apparent that these spokespeople for teachers were not drawn from a wide set of recommendations or any casual encounters that BBC Talks Producers might have had in the pub or elsewhere. Harry Rée (Figure 3),

¹⁵ Fforde’s previous experience of education before becoming Head of Rugby included: working with boys clubs in the East End of London, serving on governing bodies of the teacher training college, Froebel Institute, and St Mary’s Calne, an Independent girls’ boarding school.

another regular BBC contributor and from 1951 headmaster of Watford Boys Grammar, had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford and Kings College, Cambridge. He was an education officer in Cambridge when the Village Colleges were being planned and during World War Two a Special Operations Executive and member of the Intelligence Corps. He contributed to BBC programmes on secondary education regularly from 1944–1965 despite being under surveillance by senior BBC staff at times for his views which were considered too outspoken and there being a perceived danger of him high-jacking programmes with his own agenda.¹⁶ As the programmes were not usually transmitted live for the period of this study, Rée's words could be edited in and out of programmes to prevent the perceived risk of personal bias and from the BBC's point of view he could be depended upon to support the LEA grammar school for this period.¹⁷ Even though he was considered a potential loose cannon, as a war hero he was also recognized as a popular and reliable voice to guide the formation of public opinion.

Taking a different approach to Rée, Eric James, was educated at Queens College, Oxford, worked as a teacher at Winchester College during the Second World War and High Master of Manchester Grammar from 1945-1962 (Figure 4). He was another headteacher who was given privileged airtime after having written vehement pro-grammar school articles in the print media from the late 1940s onwards. James headed a Direct Grant grammar school, so his perspective differed from Rée's headship of an LEA grammar. A Fabian socialist and agnostic, James advocated Plato's ideas of an 'aristocracy of talent' which he believed could be identified by competitive exams. In 1939 James married into the Wintour family who were involved with newspaper editing, so perhaps this connection helps explain why James had so much print coverage as well as airtime at the BBC.¹⁸ Another regular contributor to BBC programmes on secondary education was Margaret Miles (Figure 5), the headmistress of Mayfield comprehensive, formerly a girls' grammar school which she steered through its transformation to a comprehensive in the mid 1950s. She had been educated at Bedford College, University of London and had worked in

¹⁶ BBC WAC RCont: Harry Rée, File 2, 1950–1962. Report by Richmond Postgate over concerns about Rée's Communist sympathies, 12.4.51.

¹⁷ For the period under consideration in this study Rée supported selective education and the grammar school but, after heading the Department of Education at University of York 1963–1974, he then taught at Woodberry Down Comprehensive, retiring in 1980.

¹⁸ In 1939 James married Cordelia Wintour, sister of Charles Vere Wintour (1917–1999) journalist and later editor of *London Evening Standard*.

Independent schools such as Badminton where she met influential individuals amongst the parents such as Naomi Mitchison. She had also worked on the McNair report during World War Two and was unmarried.¹⁹ The recurrence of these three names provoked questions: why did these three head teachers dominate the airwaves in the 1950s almost a decade before it became fashionable to give teachers a voice on documentary film? What did these three have in common and how did the other CEOs, journalists, civil servants, publishers and academics who were collaborating to make these programmes with a focus on secondary education meet up and share ideas? A common religious identity did not explain the recurrence. James and Miles were from English nonconformist Christian backgrounds; Rée was from Danish Jewish background. None of these individuals were pillars of the Church of England.

Archival evidence at the Newsam Archives explained the common ground between these individuals that no BBC paperwork had reason to mention. Rée, James and Miles all became members of the ASG between the 1940s and the 1960s although none of them were founder members. A common thread amongst many of the contributors who discuss secondary education on air is that they belonged at some point during the twenty-one years that I consider, to this informal education discussion group. The ASG was formed in 1941 to discuss the proposals being put forward for the postwar reform of education. From 1941 onwards, it operated self-selecting membership and met under Chatham House Rule two or three times a year for weekends, mostly in Oxford. Of the 35 original members of the ASG, 17 were education officers.²⁰ As the group met under Chatham House Rule what was said at meetings could not be attributed to speakers in further dissemination of the topics discussed, but there was nothing to prevent echoes of these discussions permeating the media, it was only the naming of speakers that was prohibited. Jenny Ozga has written of the history of contact and easy communication that shaped the collaboration of CEOs and their friends in ‘ginger groups’ such as the ASG and this

¹⁹ Naomi Mitchison (née Haldane) (1897–1999) was a writer and wife of Labour MP, Dick Mitchison. Miles was seconded to work on the McNair Report in 1942. The Committee was appointed by RAB Butler and included Fred Clarke. The report investigated the training and recruitment of teachers.

²⁰ See S. Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, (Privately published for the All Souls Group, 2002) for further discussion and appendices on the ASG. This publication is recommended as a first point of call, before referring to the ASG archive papers at the Newsam Archive, as Maclure had access to further private information and paperwork not held in publicly accessible archives.

study shows how this partnership carried through to broadcasting circles as well as the ASG's Oxford gatherings.²¹

The ASG is one of various informal networks to which these influential figures belonged. It is not suggested that the ASG was acting with a consensus and self-consciously conspiring for the coverage of secondary education on air to take a certain perspective. The ASG was not a group which reached a consensus on many controversial issues. Maclure described a former consensus slipping away during the 1950s.²² Members had polarized views on the progress of 'comprehensivisation' which has already been made apparent with the acknowledgement that James, Miles and Rée were all members. However, it becomes apparent as this study unfolds that the members of the ASG did perceive themselves as guardians of the 1944 Education Act and overseers of the Act's media coverage. They did lobby to encourage the topic of secondary education to resurface sufficiently often on air, so that they had a sense of the broadcast equivalent of the 'column inches' that it occupied. Stuart Maclure (1926–2011) (Figure 6) who joined the ASG in 1954 wrote of the group as being far from: 'passive administrators ... they were activists who knew what they wanted and sought to influence the course of events.' The ASG exercised 'a normal expectation' to have at least one of their members involved with departmental committees looking at educational matters. Central Advisory Council for Education reports, such as the Clarke Reports, Crowther Report and Newsom Report during the period of this study each included several members of the ASG, thus providing a direct link between conversation at meetings and the development of these reports. Similarly ASG members liked to keep an eye on the editorial coverage of secondary education in the broadcast media.²³

In the past two decades, digital resources such as *The Times* and *Hansard* have been regularly used by historians of education. As these two particular resources were accessible online earlier than many others, this shaped the familiarity of media sources that were most regularly drawn on before the development of digital humanities. It is only more recently that wide ranging archival media sources that are

²¹ J. Ozga, *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested terrain* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000) 124–125. Jack Longland (1905–1993) ASG member, educator and broadcaster used the term 'ginger group' to describe the ASG when interviewed by Ozga in 1988.

²² Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, 9. As Maclure only became a member in the 1950s his perception may have been distorted as to whether there was ever consensus or whether disagreeing was part of the social enjoyment. Maclure was educated at Highgate School and Christ's College, Cambridge.

²³ Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, 4.

not fully digitized, or in some cases not digitized at all, have been drawn on by historians with a particular interest in education, although these BBC WAC undigitized sources have been used by historians with a focus other than education since Asa Briggs began his research in the 1950s.²⁴ The first digitized sources often came to represent the footnoted cultural dimension, a window on the parliamentary spoken words uttered on educational reform or *The Times* editorial slant. This is not to suggest that online digitized sources are not useful but to question how easily a historian of education can conjure up a *Times Educational Supplement* reference rather than making an actual archive trip to Caversham to find out what was said in spoken broadcast rather than print journalism. BBC WAC is unusual in being an archive where a researcher's appointed archivist is ultimately responsible for vetting and sifting all the material an individual can access and where the researchers' requests are very much dependent on the archivists' goodwill, because of the absence of a coherent catalogue. These moments of uncertainty can however be transformed into a positive research journey more rewarding than a dependence on authorized online selections of sources. Requesting paper files, sometimes files which no one outside the BBC had asked to access for 70 years or more, helped develop a nuanced understanding of how the working world of broadcasting had operated and a realization that there was a gulf between the evidence a researcher pieces together when not in the pay of the BBC and the historical story which the BBC saw fit to narrate about itself.

There is a perceived danger that focusing intently on a particular film or cultural event to argue for its significance can potentially exoticise a particular 'text', exaggerate the significance of unusual material and overlook the interconnections and recurrences of particular campaigns and individuals in shaping cultural history. This is why evidence from several hundred programmes has been surveyed. A sense of what was available for ordinary audiences who may have been focusing intently or may have been half listening while busy with something else is of interest. Some programmes people may have experienced as background noise, others may have been attended to with intense concentration. Programmes may or may not have had

²⁴ Asa Briggs (1921–2016) was a historian. Educated at Cambridge University he held posts at the University of Oxford, and subsequently as a professor at the University of Leeds and University of Sussex. During World War Two he served in the Intelligence Corps and worked at Bletchley Park. He played a significant role in the development of the Open University and served as its second Vice-Chancellor. He was commissioned by the BBC to write a 5-volume history covering the years 1922–1974.

some impact on the enthusiasms and reservations the audience felt about secondary education. It is not assumed that these programmes necessarily had a strong impact on public opinion, the intentions and hopes of the programme makers are more central to this study than the power of the BBC to alter the thinking of its audience. Some contributors were almost evangelists for the notion of democratic citizenship and convinced that education could play its part in building a future where democracy was the norm. The broadcasts examined do not always engage with a popular audience, many do, but those on the Third less so. Tracing the intentions of the programme makers is the central purpose of this study. How did BBC staff, ASG members and other individuals work together to legitimate reform?

Personal Context: Coincidences that Shaped the Progress of This Study

My MA dissertation study of the headmistress, Miles, completed in 2011, drew me to explore broadcasting evidence as a PhD project and to examine who had editorial control in BBC programmes where the representation of secondary education was presented in broadcast. Simultaneous to Miles' appointment as a London head teacher in the early 1950s, she also began to appear on radio discussion programmes and by the late 1950s in documentary film for television broadcast. Research into her networks pointed to this not being a chance occurrence. She was certainly not plucked from obscurity whatever clichés of the spinster schoolteacher in the 'Miss Beale and Miss Buss tradition' may have ultimately shaped her legacy.²⁵ References from her Bedford College principal, civil servant and economics lecturer, Geraldine Jebb played a useful part in her career opportunities from the 1930s to the 1950s. An unsuccessful interview by the classicist, activist and 'public intellectual', Gilbert Murray (Figure 7), for a job as an education officer in the League of Nations Union in the early 1930s, was later followed by her teaching appointment at Badminton School where he was a school governor. Murray had been involved with the BBC since it began in the 1920s and Wrigley refers to Murray as a 'radio Hellenist' who believed broadcasting did more to make the whole world one than any previous invention.²⁶

My preliminary research revealed that Miles had been very well connected in Socialist circles and that influential figures seemed to have played a part in her

²⁵ Caroline Benn, 'Obituary: Dame Margaret Miles', *Independent*, 29.4.94. See also Royal Holloway Archives, University of London, for paperwork on Miles' early career, including BC/27/2/84.

²⁶ Wrigley, *Greece on Air*, 143.

professional development, as has already been suggested. However, I had come across no archival or published sources that mentioned Miles' membership of the ASG. While producing the research to complete my MA, I had remained ignorant of this particular network that arguably enhanced her public profile and publishing and broadcasting opportunities during the 1960s. I became aware of Miles' involvement with radio broadcasting when working on the papers of Margaret Cole at Nuffield College during my MA research.²⁷ Amongst Cole's personal collections of press coverage on comprehensives in the 1950s I came across a 1954 transcript of a broadcast discussion between Miles, Rée and the CEO for Manchester, Norman Fisher (Figure 8). I then made contact with the BBC Written Archives at Caversham so that I could access more such radio scripts. I still had no idea that Fisher and Rée had a particular group membership at this point, a membership to which Miles was to be invited a few years later when the ASG became concerned in the early 1960s that it had too few women amongst its members. There were no obvious restrictions on access to the BBC WAC material and, as I made irregular one day visits to Caversham to read occasional scripts, I became aware of the recurrence of certain individual's names when secondary education was being discussed.

The stages by which I started to understand allegiances are narrated here because I may have remained in the dark about the ASG for longer had I not happened to embark on a brief discussion with Peter Newsam (born 1928) (Figure 9), an ASG member; former director of IoE and CEO for the Inner London Education Authority. We first met in the audience of an end of project seminar 'Remaking English? Change and Continuity in English Schools' in 2012.²⁸ I mentioned my interest in researching Miles and he immediately informed me of her ASG membership, the Oxford location for meetings and recommended that I ask to see the archive material on the ASG held at the Newsam Archive. This material was at that point closed and unlisted in any form that would alert a researcher of its existence, unless you had prior knowledge of it having been deposited at the Newsam Archive in 2005. Later in 2012 the files were opened for researchers. Paper records of meetings held under Chatham House Rule are inevitably unminuted and incomplete, given that a tension remains as to whether

²⁷ Papers of Margaret Cole, Nuffield College Library, Oxford: MSS.MIC. D4/5/1-3 *Is the comprehensive school an answer?* Transcript of radio broadcast.

²⁸ A project which resulted in the publication: P. Medway, J. Hardcastle, G. Brewis and D. Crook, *English Teachers in a Postwar Democracy: emerging choice in London Schools 1945-1965* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

any paper record should exist at all if a meeting seeks to leave no trace of attributed speakers. When these ASG contributors spoke on air for the BBC they were instead speaking as individuals with their future copyright controlled by their descendants, not the ASG who they happened to be members of. This distinction led me to focus more on BBC WAC surviving material rather than the ASG archive. What these members said in public broadcast rather than behind closed doors formed the body of evidence to which I paid the closest attention. This is not to deny however, the areas of overlap between these two archival collections.

A chance fragment of conversation with an individual, with whom I had no prior discussion, broadened my understanding of the role of ‘ginger groups’ in shaping how secondary education was discussed in broadcast transmissions.²⁹ It was not a surprise find in a publication, or an archive box, or a surviving soundtrack or moving image which kick-started my exploration of the ASG’s members and their forays into broadcasting. Instead, it was a six sentence spoken word exchange with Newsam, before being hushed into silence by the chair of the event to which we had come to listen. This helpful lead was a reminder that published books and archive catalogues offer versions of history which have been carefully choreographed and filtered and that the ‘gentlemen’s agreement’ not to publish any of the ASG’s discussions even in summary form’ did not preclude giving advice on where researchers should look and begin to ask questions.

The ASG archive, listed as ‘The Records of the All Souls Group’, is held at the Newsam Archive, Institute of Education, UCL, London. It consists of 11 boxes of paperwork dating from 1941–2005. Although meetings were held under Chatham House Rule, some note taking and summaries of the meetings were recorded on paper and alongside other relevant correspondence an archive developed. In 2005 this archive was held at the home of Harry Judge. During that year it was deposited at the Newsam Archive.³⁰ Papers relevant to the period under consideration in this study include records of discussion during meetings, some membership records, although these only date in printed form from 1959 onwards, and correspondence between members. Meetings held under Chatham House Rule are not minuted so attendance and detailed discussion at these gatherings cannot be confirmed retrospectively. The

²⁹ See page 13 and note 21.

³⁰ Harry Judge (born 1928) is a former comprehensive school headmaster, Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Education, University of Oxford and Emeritus fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. He was Director of the Department of Educational Studies from 1973 to 1988.

surviving papers present something of a contradiction because while Chatham House Rule suggests that speakers are not attributed in the repetition of comments from these gatherings, the surviving archive material does sometimes attribute speakers. There are restrictions on access to some of these archival papers, although restrictions mainly relate to more recent membership records. The position on quoting directly from these records while I was carrying out research was explained to me in 2014 by archivist Sarah Aitchison: ‘You are certainly able to make reference to the papers in publications, the issue would be around direct quotation of documents.’³¹ This material is only used intermittently in this study. It is helpful in confirming allegiances and disagreements amongst the group but does not present detailed evidence on the representation of secondary education by the BBC.

Oral history did not feature significantly in this research although I had some preliminary un-recorded conversations with surviving ASG members such as Harry Judge and Anne Jones but in both cases, as neither was a member of the ASG or involved with broadcasting in the period I examine, these discussions only really served the purpose of providing a greater understanding of informal networks and the enjoyment of socializing that developed through such allegiances.³² The one oral history recording, which I made for this study, was an interview with Peter Scupham, the son of the BBC’s first Controller of Educational Broadcasting, John Scupham. The elder Scupham was a friend of Newsom but not an ASG member. In this instance, Peter Scupham’s interest in performance and his working life as a teacher and poet had a strong impact on the nature of the recording produced and while it offered a helpful guide to networks and career paths it also was very much a narrative performance of a son re-telling how they saw their father’s professional life almost as if the story was being recorded for broadcast. Such evidence did not give an insight into the elder Scupham and his choices and misgivings about the representation of secondary education at the BBC in the same level of depth as the BBC WAC paperwork could.³³

³¹ Excerpt from an email: Sarah Aitchison to Lottie Hoare, March 2014. For clarification of Chatham House Rule see pages 13 and 17. See also note 103 on National Archive holdings relating to the ASG.

³² Anne Jones is a former headteacher & civil servant & Professor of Lifelong Learning at Brunel University 1995–2001. She was also a pioneer of school counselling. Both were members of the ASG after the period considered in this study. In a discussion with Lottie Hoare, 23 May 2014, Henley, Jones repeatedly described the ASG as ‘tremendous fun.’

³³ Peter Scupham, Oral history interview conducted by Lottie Hoare, October 2015, Old Hall, South Burlingham, Norfolk. 1 hour 23 minutes.

There are various reasons why this study did not depend on oral history. Firstly almost all the individuals who were involved with both the ASG and discussion of secondary education in broadcasting between 1944–1965 are no longer alive and to speak to those, such as Judge and Jones, who were involved in later decades does not give a sufficiently vivid picture of the period chosen. Had I embarked upon this study twenty years earlier oral history would have probably been more helpful. Secondly, because of the issues of semi-secrecy surrounding the ASG I can detect both in some spoken communication and in email correspondence with former members, such as James Porter and ASG guests such as Auriol Ashworth Stevens, a tendency to tantalize by sharing knowledge deliberately edited and shorn of detail. Ashworth Stevens was far keener to talk about the menu served at Maclure's dinner parties than to summarize his outlook on secondary education reform. On reflection it is far easier to joke about a menu than to pigeon hole the thoughts of a journalist who prided himself on a breadth of coverage and having personal views which were hard to capture.³⁴ Membership of a self-selecting group like the ASG demanded a different kind of silence. From the handful of conversations I had with ASG members and guests I realized they like to talk about it because they knew exactly how not to talk about it. Avery Gordon sums up some of the tension around the unsaid: 'we're notified that what's been suppressed or concealed is very much alive and present, messing or interfering precisely with those always incomplete forms of containment and repression ceaselessly directed towards us.'³⁵ Ozga and Gewirtz mention difficulties when interviewing educationalists who are very familiar with the research process – and it could be added the broadcasting process: the tendency of elite respondents to give rehearsed, sometimes platitudinous, replies and the skillful way in which they were able to dodge awkward issues.³⁶

Conversational meanderings can potentially make the listener feel as if they are being cast as a detective. A group of friends of Newsom getting together for meals,

³⁴ James F Porter (1928–2012) was an ASG member in a later period than that which this study concerns and Director of the Commonwealth Institute, Kensington, London. He was co-author of *The changing role of the teacher: international perspectives: a study*. N. M. Goble and J. F. Porter (Paris: International Bureau of Education, UNESCO, 1977). Auriol Ashworth Stevens, in conversation with Lottie Hoare, March 2013. Stevens was former editor of *The Times Higher Education Supplement*.

³⁵ See Avery Gordon 'Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity' *Borderlands* Vol. 10, Number 2, 2011, 2, & *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

³⁶ For a discussion of the ethics and values in interviewing former elite policy makers see: J. Ozga et al. 'Sex, Lies and Audiotape: Interviewing the Education Policy Elite' in D. Halpin & B. Troyna (eds.) *Researching Education Policy: ethical and methodological issues* (London: Falmer Press, 1994).

sherry, themed talks and laughter can be historicized with the benefit of hindsight, and in light of subsequent educational reforms which diminished the role of CEOs who had played an influential role in both the ASG and broadcasting in my period, can be cast as something perhaps more mysterious than it actually was. I wonder whether much of the power dynamic amongst the ASG was about flattery – people were flattered to be asked to have food and wine as part of nominally secret proceedings. People like to be chosen. Perhaps this built a bond of trust between members and guests. Born describes Chatham House dinners as a regular method of BBC consultation inviting: ‘the great and the good ... as well as going away pissed, they will feel they have been listened to.’³⁷

Looking back at the years 1944–1965, I wondered how much my understanding of how broadcasting projected educational debate was distorted by normative ideas that I had adopted and not questioned. In conversation with Anne Jones she was shocked when I described her as working ‘for schools.’ Interrupting me she corrected: ‘I did not work for schools. I worked for children. I kept their confidences.’ My portrayal of committed individuals working to support the development and success of schools, whether they were grammar, secondary modern, technical or comprehensive, seemed out of step with her vision of people who worked for children and did not see it as appropriate to share private conversation whether it stemmed from the uncertainties of childhood or keeping Chatham House Rule. Perhaps the structures and institutions, of formal educational experience, had loomed too large in my thinking. Her words reminded me of Newsom’s remarks in my opening quote: the concern not for the ‘pattern of administration’ but for ‘soul-making.’³⁸

The final reason why oral history did not play a significant part in the construction of this study was due to the death of one of the inspirations for the study, Marion Knight (Figures 10 & 11). When I first watched John Boorman’s documentary ‘Citizen 63: Marion Knight’ (1963) about a secondary modern schoolgirl in Portsmouth, filmed mostly in 1962, I presumed that Marion Knight was not the real name of the pupil. A few months later, after putting her name into Google while looking for stills from the film, I stumbled instead upon a recent photograph of Marion at a Portsmouth local history society screening of the film. We were soon in

³⁷ G. Born, *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the reinvention of the BBC* (London: Vintage, 2005), 89.

³⁸ ‘Call the world if you please, the vale of soul-making.’ John Keats to George and Georgiana Keats, 21 April 1819, in H. E. Rollins (ed.) *Letters of John Keats 1814–1821*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

touch thanks to the music historian, Dave Allen.³⁹ For a year Marion and I corresponded by email reflecting on her experience of making the film. In the spring of 2013 we met several times while I was waiting to hear if I would have funding for my PhD. We planned that we might write a paper together, or give a conference paper together. We walked her dog in the woods and stayed up late talking at her Loughborough home. On the last Friday in April I heard the news that I had AHRC funding for my PhD. She was one of the first people I told and she expressed her enthusiasm for my project and her chance to bring her voice to the chapter that considered the years 1960–1965. Three days later she died unexpectedly on her 68th birthday. Without her continued conversation I stepped back into archives, reading, listening, watching evidence, unable to draw more of her insights from actual conversation.

³⁹ See for example D. Allen, *The one in the middle: Paul Pond, PGS, Portsmouth and Pop* (Portsmouth: Portsmouth Grammar School, 2013).

Literature Review

In fact to be a good producer you must like people. We are the midwives of radio. Our role is to foster the creative activity of others, by placing at their disposal our own professional skills and experience. So our relations with contributors involve a close study of human nature ... putting together the simplest programme on air requires the back-stage co-operation of a small army of people.

Stephen Bonajee in Ernest Simon *The BBC from Within* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1953), 173–174.

The sense of bold adventure, and of capacity to bring about results that are felt to be important, can only be restored if power can be delegated to small groups in which the individual is not overwhelmed by mere numbers... there should be devolution of powers of the state to various kinds of bodies – geographical, industrial, cultural, according to their functions. The powers of these bodies should be sufficient to make them interesting, and to cause energetic men to find satisfaction in influencing them.

Bertrand Russell in S. Maclure & T. Utey (Eds.) *Documents of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 78.

Introduction

Most academic literature which covers the 1944–1965 educational reforms in secondary education gives short shrift to the overlap with broadcasting and does not engage in detail with the coverage of secondary education by the BBC. Most literature on BBC broadcasting postwar is concerned with cultural coverage and broadcasting as a form of self-improving education in itself, the continuation of Reithian ideals, rather than the coverage of secondary education by broadcasters. Yusaf refers to Reithian ideals before World War Two which lingered on after his leadership had ended as: ‘binding a divided nation culturally ... [an] ideal community of responsible individualists, bound through intersubjective understanding and common ‘taste manners and knowledge.’’⁴⁰ The BBC representation of the secondary schools that this shared listening community might attend postwar is not something that has had particular attention drawn to it by historians of either film or education.

This literature review aims to give credit to what has been discussed in published literature thereby establishing a foundation from which to explore the BBC scripts, programmes and networks of individual programme makers who concerned themselves with the representation of secondary education. This review also identifies the absences which have not been addressed in published literature so far. The

⁴⁰ S. Yusaf, *Broadcasting Buildings: Architecture on the Wireless, 1927–1945* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 2014), 9.

literature on the 1944 Act will be considered first as that impacts the whole of the period under consideration whereas the literature on Circular 10/65 concerns the years after this study so is not therefore analysed. Literature about the BBC is examined and then subsequently literature about the ASG members, demonstrating what has mattered to researchers and published authors so far and what silences were maintained.

BBC programmes that represent secondary education have not been analysed collectively and made central to any studies in the history of education. Historians of education have lighted on particular broadcasts but not examined a large number of broadcasts together all of which share an educational theme. BBC broadcasts were shared with a far broader cross-section of the public than government papers and memos. Many postwar analyses of secondary education 1944–1965 lean heavily on policy documents and other official papers to create a spine for their arguments. There has been a strong tradition of history books that derive their authority from positioning official, visible paperwork from government organizations as their central and dependable source. Glancing over the footnotes of the chapters of Woodin, McCulloch & Cowan's publication on the raising of the school leaving age postwar, and journal articles written with the same approach, makes it apparent that concurrent literature, journalism, documentary and fiction film is often sprinkled in a controlled and incidental way to acknowledge the cultural context but significantly to avoid an implication that cultural material forms an important record of the way in which secondary education was either experienced or any exploration of why the media presented educational stories in a certain way. Media sources are presented as incidental echoes.⁴¹ The Stephen Bonarjee (Figure 12) opening quote, starts by comparing BBC programme makers to supportive midwives and then shifts its metaphor to military personnel.⁴² This shift conveys something of the contradictory perspectives which occupy much of the published literature which relates to this

⁴¹ T. Woodin, G. McCulloch & S. Cowan *Secondary Education and the Raising of the School Leaving Age: coming of age?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) Of the 111 endnotes for Chapter 5 'Forward with Rosla 1951-1962', 99 refer to official government papers, correspondence reports and memos; 6 refer to published books; 3 refer to academic journal articles and 3 to contemporary newspaper or journal articles.

⁴² Stephen Bonarjee (1912–2003) was a radio editor who studied at St Andrews University before entering journalism. His father was a civil servant in the Indian army department. Bonarjee later created *From Our Own Correspondent* at the BBC and developed the *Today* programme. When Simon published this quote Bonarjee had already been working in radio since 1946, recruited as a radio producer after his demobilization.

study. Both nurturing and authoritarian approaches were used to try to construct Education Acts, networks of colleagues and indeed BBC broadcasts and within academic literature the simultaneous contradictions create challenges in the attempts to reconstruct what took place.

Policy versus experience: Literature on the 1944 Act

The work of Gosden and McCulloch analysed committee minutes and government correspondence to ascertain the formal gatherings that brought these Acts into being.⁴³ Thom suggests that the authors of the 1944 Act: ‘all shared a strong commitment to something each called equality of opportunity. They were in a position to publicise their beliefs, to embody them in legislation’ and yet she concludes that there was too much local variation in practice to herald innovation or social leveling. Direct Grant and public schools alongside parental wishes worked to maintain the ‘*status quo ante bellum*.’⁴⁴

Reflecting on the 1944 Act, McCulloch observed that politicians and policy makers responsible for developing the Act ensured that freedom and variety in education continued. McCulloch sees Butler as inspired by ‘relics of belief’ that in a free country every child cannot be forced into one type of school. He also suggests that the architects of the Act operated under the assumption that ‘public opinion’ was not ready for such a development as comprehensives. Crucially, from the point of view of this study which looks at changes in the representation of secondary education, the regime ‘ushered’ by the 1944 Act regarded the autonomy of teachers and LEAs as ‘sacrosanct.’⁴⁵ Maclure summed up the 1944 Act as follows:

‘What was new was the generous spirit in which reconstruction of the education system was conceived and the conscious sense of legislating for the long term ... the flexible provision it made for future development by the blend of powers and duties it gave the LEAs. This added up to the expectation that, without too much fuss – and certainly without violence –

⁴³ See for example P. Gosden, *Education in the Second World War: a study in policy and administration* (London: Methuen, 1976) & G. McCulloch *Educational reconstruction: the 1944 Education Act and the twenty first century* (Ilford: Woburn Press, 1994)

⁴⁴ D. Thom ‘The 1944 Education Act: ‘the art of the possible’?’ in H. L. Smith (ed.) *War & Social Change: British Society in the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 124.

⁴⁵ G. McCulloch, ‘British Labour Party education policy and comprehensive education: from Learning to Live to Circular 10/65’, *History of Education*, Vol. 45, 2016: 2, 230.

there was going to be a social revolution based on fairness and a redistribution of wealth and privilege. The Act carried powerful messages about equality of opportunity – a noble but insidious phrase which crumbles under analysis yet remains potent as a reforming principle.’⁴⁶

Maclure described Butler leaning against an elegant mantelpiece ‘speaking like a parody of an upper-class English gent ... welding us into one nation when its got thoroughly worked out instead of the two nations Disraeli talked about.’⁴⁷

Commentators over the past few decades have pointed to the formation of the Education Act as evolving as a cultural mission from an elite community rather than a response to circumstance. Batteson refers to the construction of the 1944 Act as decision making by ‘a narrow, closely regulated community, presenting a precise and specific conception for forms of schooling... a homogenous cabal of policy conceivers contained debate...civil servants successfully constrained and coloured education policy in the 1940s...’⁴⁸ Woodin, McCulloch and Cowan observe that in political terms the postwar Conservative Party has been credited with using education in order to come to terms with an expanding ‘welfare state ... strategists and opportunists within the party sought to make education a Conservative issue as part of a worldview based upon individualism, enterprise, and social mobility.’⁴⁹

Mandler points to an intense public dismay about the educational provision as aligned with an educational aspiration that would certainly not be appeased by some token material comforts. He sees education received as a commodity fuelling aspiration:

‘The limited familiarity of working-class families with grammar schools put a cap on this aspiration, but it hardly quenched it, and the advent of universal secondary education from 1944 very much fuelled it. Now education was viewed, like health, as a universal public service, and parents of all classes

⁴⁶ S. Maclure, *An inspector's calling: a history of the HMI, 1945–1992* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Educational, 2000), xxi.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ C. H. Batteson, ‘The 1944 Act Reconsidered’, *Educational Review*, Vol. 51; 1, 1999, 8–14.

⁴⁹ Woodin et al., *Secondary Education*, 77.

came to seek the best teachers and schools for their children, just as they came to seek the best doctors and hospitals.’⁵⁰

Mandler refers to support for meritocracy as actually fragile and its supposed triumph short lived. He perceives ‘a delicate political truce’ where local authorities had little room to breathe but the Act having been developed by a Coalition government during the war and having been ‘aggressively promoted’, it was defended with a vigilance of individuals from cross party allegiances. Mandler’s recent work also observes that much of the postwar history of secondary education has focused on sociological and psychological findings and on the visible professional groups that navigated these developments: ‘sections of opinion [that] are emphasized because they tend to be the only ones studied; their actors create articulate and easily-accessible texts and organizations.’⁵¹ For the purposes of this study another overlooked element of Central Advisory Councils set up after the 1944 Act, is that they were not only producing reports for government, they were also inevitably leaking information to the media because of the close friendship circles in which members of the Councils socialized.

Academic literature that examines the 1944 Education Act has taken an interest in both how this Act came about and the gulf between academic practice and the theories put forward by the Act. The representation of the 1944 Act, or for that matter Circular 10/65, by the BBC has not received particular coverage. The recent work of Todd turned the attention to oral history recordings of pupils who experienced the postwar educational settlement in England to try to re-navigate these educational histories back to the voices of the least empowered groups, in this case the school pupils.⁵² In a sense this is a kind of retrospective collecting of conversational thoughts whereas this study seeks specifically to try to capture what was said on air at the time rather than people speaking from a position of hindsight.

⁵⁰ P. Mandler (2014). ‘Educating The Nation I: Schools’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24, 13.

⁵¹ Mandler, (2014), 15.

⁵² S. Todd, and H. Young. “‘Baby-boomers’ to ‘Beanstalkers’: Making the Modern Teenager in Postwar Britain.” *Cultural and Social History* 9: 3 (2012) and other research drawn from their ESRC project ‘Voices of Postwar England: An oral history of the working-class’.

The BBC and Education 1944–1965

The perception of a BBC playing its part in the education of a modern cultured democracy has been repeatedly voiced by BBC spokespeople since the service began in the 1920s.⁵³ However, the BBC directly addressing secondary education has not been the focus of archival research. Instead an examination of the whole process of broadcasting as an educational experience has dominated in the work of Briggs, Burke, Hendy and Seaton.⁵⁴ Literature on broadcasting and education policy in the postwar period has thrown up certain synchronicities but these have not yet been explored with specific reference to the representation of secondary education in broadcasting. Curran and Seaton observed that broadcasting and schooling as communicators of accepted values have much in common despite the fact that broadcasting was more centrally controlled and education had more local authority influence in administering schools than regional broadcasting could develop. Parallel organizational changes, which occurred as a result of the impulse for reform created by the Second World War, appear to Curran and Seaton to be ‘remarkable’ in their similarities.⁵⁵ While education experienced moves towards Tripartite reform in 1944 with the secondary modern, technical and grammar schools selection process and the occasional experimental comprehensive; the BBC restructured into the Light, Home and Third in 1946. Shapira described this development: ‘The BBC created a tripartite system of networks with different levels of seriousness... lowbrow ... middlebrow ... highbrow ...’⁵⁶ These divisions also echo The Norward Report (1943) distinctions between three constructed communities: the secondary modern intake; the ‘scientifically-minded’ (imagined at Technical School) and the ‘academically-minded’ (destined for grammar school).⁵⁷ The assumptions that both pupils and listeners can be categorized into groups who will respond in certain ways was not sustained throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Silvey’s research

⁵³ H. Matheson, *Broadcasting* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1933) In particular Chapter VII ‘Education’. (‘The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge’, H A L Fisher, G. Murray & J. Huxley (eds.))

⁵⁴ See for example: J. Seaton & J. Curran, *Power without Responsibility: the press and broadcasting in Britain*. (London: Routledge, 1997); A. Briggs and P. Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet*, (Cambridge, Polity, 2002) & D. Hendy, *Public Service Broadcasting* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013).

⁵⁵ Seaton/Curran, *Power Without Responsibility*, 153.

⁵⁶ M. Shapira, *The War Inside: Psychoanalysis, Total War and the Making of the Democratic Self in Post-War Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 116.

⁵⁷ These separations were envisioned by the educationalist and headmaster, Cyril Norwood (1875–1956). Norwood was vehemently against multilateral schools (sharing the secretary of the Association of Education Committees Percival Sharp’s view: ‘He spits on multilateralism’).

pointed to a ‘widespread catholicity in listening’. People did not fit into these categories of high-brow and low-brow any more than they neatly fitted into the predictable learning styles of a grammar school or secondary modern pupil. Silvey suggested that fear about the revolutionary impact of propaganda on radio listeners was misplaced and that radio was more likely to reinforce peoples views than change their minds radically. Silvey also credits the influence of Hoggart as having ‘wilted’ 1950s caricatured perceptions of the stereotype ‘high-brow’ and ‘low-brow’ audience.⁵⁸

Like Brecht, Walter Benjamin had believed that radio needed to promote active listening rather than passive hearing and to reach out to both the intellectual and the lay person. The use in radio of a dialogic interaction between a pedagogic speaker and a sceptic was used often in the mid twentieth century, in Dinsman’s words to ‘help audiences better navigate their way through the social norms of an increasingly complex society.’⁵⁹ The discussion of culture explored by Hoggart in *Uses of Literacy* (1957) and Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society* (1958) touched on cultural change since the industrial revolution and the promotion of mass culture at the expense of local tradition but neither commentator was concerned with the editorial games of the radio and television professionals who could playfully marry popular and intellectual entertainment through the editing of sound on radio or audio-visual juxtaposition on television. The visual element was perhaps in itself unsettling, as it was not a form of communication that British elites had been educated to decipher. Games recognised a strong historic link between BBC radio broadcasting and Oxford University, where ‘ideas about what was sayable’ were shaped by Oxford philosophers such as Gilbert Ryle and J.L. Austin. Games also observed a ‘High Table’ culture on Third and points to constant complaints in the press that the Third was concerned with the fruits of western civilisation but lacked any interest in the here and now. Oxford had a ‘paucity of teaching in the arts’ and television was a visual medium.⁶⁰ The BBC perceived itself as an educational service for the listener irrespective of what education policy was offering in terms of formal education.

⁵⁸ R. Silvey, *Who’s Listening?* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), 124–125.

⁵⁹ See M. Dinsman, *Modernism at the Microphone: radio, propaganda and literary aesthetics during World War Two* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 16–18. Dinsman discusses Benjamin’s radio drama ‘Much Ado about Kaspar’ where the puppet learns to see radio as a means of education through entertainment but initially abuses the civic responsibility of radio broadcasting because he is a primitive form – a puppet.

⁶⁰ S. Games, *Pevsner: The BBC Years: Listening to the Visual Arts* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 235.

Hendy suggested links between the influence of the one time school inspector, Matthew Arnold's vision of the 'men of culture' as the 'true apostles of equality' and the purpose of the BBC in the mid twentieth century.⁶¹

Much of the history of the BBC, since it began in 1922, has been constructed by authors that are arguably too close to it to challenge some of the myths on which its reputation was built. Briggs as a historian of the BBC and of Longmans publishers had a background of professional experience which follows a combination of involvements familiar to various of the broadcasters included in this study: attended grammar school and Oxbridge, Military service including the Intelligence Corps during World War Two, worked at Bletchley Park, and aware of ASG meetings.⁶² Most recently, Webb's book on BBC World Service broadcasting *London Calling* reinforces this tradition of carefully researched studies which uphold the idea that the BBC was independent and neutral.⁶³ Webb's book is based on his PhD that was itself funded by the BBC. It is not my purpose to disagree with all of the research which Briggs and Webb unearth, but I seek to challenge the assumption that we can take it as understood that a broadcasting organization that is effectively lobbied by a familiar set of figures with closely entwined backgrounds all working to support conflicting political and cultural interests can actually be defined as neutral.

Part of the difficulty with historical literature on the BBC is that it has often either taken the form of history as a kind of institutional publicity, written by those who are authorized, known and trusted by the BBC itself or of memoirs from those who have worked for the BBC and situate themselves as partly nostalgic and partly disillusioned. The exasperated contributions to BBC history can be found early on in, for example, Raymond Postgate's critique in 1935. Postgate was disheartened that his role in writing reviews for *The Listener* had been dropped when he told a 'capitalist' Lord that as a 'socialist' he could not offer his broadcast a positive review.⁶⁴ Turning to Leonard and Virginia Woolf as publishers, he questioned the lack of transparency in the way the BBC is run. He argued that Reith, Colonel Dawney and Carpendale all

⁶¹ Hendy, *Public Service Broadcasting*, 14.

⁶² See the 'Key to Appendices' page i, for clarification of associations with the ASG.

⁶³ A. Webb, *London Calling: Britain, the BBC World Service and the Cold War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014)

⁶⁴ R. Postgate, *What to do with The BBC* (London: Hogarth Press, 1935). The work of journalist and historian Raymond Postgate (1896–1971) is referenced here, but all other references to 'Postgate' (apart from those relating to this publication) are to his younger brother, Richmond Postgate, a BBC producer who was employed by the BBC long term.

had cryptically named job titles and speculated that the BBC would in time take control of the media in such a way as to bankrupt newspapers – resulting in Lord Rothermere being an administrator for Oswald Moseley. He also predicted ribaldry concerning the voices of announcers would become criminal libel and that the BBC would, by 1942, find itself in the hands of an English Fascist dictator.⁶⁵ The journalist, Henry Fairlie, writing more than 20 years later in 1959, criticized the ‘Establishment’ nature of the BBC with a thinly veiled reference to Fforde (Figure 13), then Chair of the BBC Governors from 1957–1964: ‘Where find a more disinterested or impartial person? Where, indeed, unless in the twilight figure of a still surviving Liberal or a retired Civil Servant or a pale headmaster. All of these, it need scarcely be pointed out, are usually to be found in any Board of Governors of the BBC ...’⁶⁶

Bridson’s postwar memoir on the BBC was less concerned to criticize the figures in power but turned its criticisms to the observation that by the 1950s the BBC was out of step with the needs of young people:

‘Bow bells continued to peel and radio audiences continued to shrink ... subjects were still avoided on which a number of people would have welcomed guidance, or which they were getting used to discussing themselves ... no wonder the younger listeners found coffee house conversation a great deal more stimulating.’⁶⁷

Ernest Simon’s 1953 publication marked the end of his role as Chairman of the BBC Governors. His tone is that of an upbeat textbook, allowing on occasions a barbed or personal aside but overall he tried to convey how the BBC functioned. The passages where he lets staff speak for themselves are the most revealing.⁶⁸ These working practices did not command much reflection from the official historian of the BBC

⁶⁵ R. Postgate, *What to do with The BBC*, 30.

⁶⁶ H. Fairlie, ‘The BBC’, in *The Establishment: A Symposium*, Hugh Thomas (ed.) (London: Anthony Blond, 1959). See also H. Fairlie, *Bite the Hand that feeds you: essays and provocations*, Jeremy McCarter (ed.) (New Haven: Yale, 2009). See page 11, note 15 on Fforde. Henry Fairlie (1924–1990) was a journalist who worked for *The Times* and *The Observer*. He studied History at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

⁶⁷ D. G. Bridson, *Prospero & Ariel: the rise and fall of radio, a personal recollection* (London: Gollancz, 1971), 230–231. On ‘coffee houses’ Bridson hints at the Partisan Coffee House, established by historian Raphael Samuel in 1958 as a discussion space for the New Left & CND. Naomi Mitchison invested and clientele included Marghanita Laski, John Berger & Richard Hoggart.

⁶⁸ E. Simon *The BBC from Within* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1953).

Briggs. Briggs' survey of BBC history which stretched to five volumes, operated on the assumption that loyalty to the BBC grants an individual more column inches. This does not of course echo in all Briggs' other historical writing but can be understood as one of the problems of producing commissioned history. McWilliam observes: 'these volumes have some of the problems of the 'official history' as a genre (don't expect any fireworks)' but goes on to suggest that subsequent historians of the BBC approach their task 'on the back of Briggs'.⁶⁹ This admission can be contested, as a return to the primary sources throws up a network of names who never appear in Briggs work. It is rather Brigg's silences and the unconventional nature of BBC WAC as a space for research that generate new approaches. Briggs told the story of different individuals assuming power and carrying on with the business of broadcasting. He was interested in power, popularity, ratings and the intentions of those in public positions of authority. He had no articulated interest in the subtle changing nature of the broadcasts over time and did not involve himself in any kind of textual analysis of what was being transmitted in different eras. His study did not imply any interest in how programmes were edited and how the process of bringing different individuals to the microphone was negotiated unless the individuals were famous names. Yeo suggested that Brigg's interest in historical actors was skewed towards certain figures with whom he felt a clear identification: 'the ability to understand and evoke the mentality of historical actors, especially middle class figures in their class and cultural relations.'⁷⁰ Nichols gives Briggs the credit for making space for the history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom at a time when it was a genuinely new field of academic study but allows that his was an 'insiders view' focusing on BBC senior staff rather than the voices that were commissioned to speak on air. Nichols recognizes that Briggs knew things that he could not write about: 'it is always salutary and humbling to wonder about what is not thinkable because it has yet to be seen.'⁷¹

Briggs' official history of the BBC indicates that the 1960s were an unusual period – unusual in the sense that education dominated debate on English radio. Briggs describes education as 'a sector with an intense and intricate internal politics

⁶⁹ R. McWilliam 'Chartists and Department Stores: The Legacies of Asa Briggs' in 'Roundtable on Asa Briggs Legacy' *Labour History Review*, vol. 81: No 3, 2016, 267.

⁷⁰ E. Yeo 'Asa Briggs: Recollections and Reflections' in 'Roundtable on Asa Briggs Legacy' *Labour History Review*, vol. 81: No 3, 2016, 276.

⁷¹ S. Nichols 'Asa and the Epochs: The BBC, the Historian, the Institution and the Archive' in *The Age of Asa: Lord Briggs, public life and history in Britain since 1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 171, 202.

of its own. Many interests including vested interests, had their own stake.’⁷² As broadcasting was the central arena for Briggs’ lens as a historian he demanded that his subjects place the BBC at the centre of their actions. He reprimanded Scupham (Figure 14) for his perceived divided loyalty and his attachment to liaisons with educational bodies. Scupham was a contributor to the Newsom Report ‘Half our Future’. He was convinced that broadcasting must play a pivotal role in disseminating knowledge in such a way that built a sense of social purpose in communities. In 1947 Scupham summarized the one purpose of education in society to be: ‘The formation of a common body of presupposition and beliefs for that elite and in a diluted form the rest of the community.’⁷³ Scupham never believed that broadcasting could take on this responsibility as a cultural force without recognition of the impact of face-to-face communication between actual humans. In later years he was so wary of television that he watched it from his armchair using a rearview mirror.⁷⁴

Much of the literature that looks at the history of radio, places its interest in the spoken word as a way of presenting literature and authors, which had already made their mark in print or visual culture which was already respected. Architecture and the Classics at the BBC are two themes of interest to recent historians such as Yusaf and Wrigley, themes which Reith would have been glad to see revisited. Baade’s *Victory through Harmony* study of the BBC and popular music in World War Two might have caused Reith a little more displeasure in its choice of subject matter.⁷⁵ This account explores how the BBC legitimized the popular and gave it a ‘stamp of legitimacy’, allowing it to represent an ‘Other’ while valuing traditions of cultural uplift and working to advance distinctly British styles rather than American popular music.⁷⁶ The impact of broadcasting on modernist authors writing poetry, plays and novels in an era where broadcasting had only recently come to exist has also become a subject of scrutiny in academic literature. However the contributions of unfamous

⁷² A Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Vol. 5, Competition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1995, 459, 469.

⁷³ BBC WAC Projected Series Talks on Education, 3 June 1947, R51/130/8 Talks, Files 1947–1954.

⁷⁴ Peter Scupham, Oral history interview conducted by Lottie Hoare, October 2015, Old Hall, South Burlingham, Norfolk. 1 hour 23 minutes.

⁷⁵ I am speculating that Reith’s search for ‘all that is best’ would lead him to commend architecture and the classics being revisited in print but not popular music. Born refers to the Reithian Ethic at the BBC exercising ‘rhetorical displays of a sanctimonious soft nationalism.’ G. Born ‘From Reithian Ethic to Managerial Discourse: Accountability and Audit at the BBC’, *Javnost – The Public, Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, Vol.10, 2003, 2: 65.

⁷⁶ C. Baade, *Victory Through Harmony: the BBC and popular music in World War Two*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 204–205.

names to broadcasting has not generated much published literature. The situation has been exacerbated by an expectation in, for example, media history, that journal articles will receive a wider audience and far more downloads if they focus on the better known authors or fictional figures postwar, be it Samuel Beckett or James Bond.⁷⁷ Again this focus in the academic literature on famous figures also loops back into the habit of writing about radio as an educational force rather than writing about what broadcasters had to say about education, or which educationalists made it onto the airwaves and what they had to say when they got there. D N Smith focused on the ‘cultural third mission’ where academics, broadcaster and audience interacted through the medium of radio. Smith’s study of BBC material is directly concerned with the relationship between broadcasting and the development of universities postwar but the reform of secondary education is not in the spotlight – other than as a reminder that certain figures involved with University reform – such as James – saw a ‘natural link’ between new universities and a rejuvenation of the grammar schools.⁷⁸

Jones and Davies’ work on ‘Kes’ and ‘Grange Hill’ argued that many films and plays since the 1940s ‘have used education as a kind of metaphorical field in which issues can be addressed. In the process audiences have been taught to look for the wider social resonances of educational settings and narratives.’ They also pointed to newspapers as a widely used source, to the exclusion of other forms of media. They argue that the representation of education’s more enduring processes also needs consideration and that the moving image in particular: ‘with their strong affective dimension and their capacity for orchestrating several different kinds of aesthetic resource (music, light, the human body) offer representations of educational meanings that go beyond questions of policy and programme.’⁷⁹ In his larger surveys of postwar educational history in England and Wales, Jones acknowledges a deliberate media engagement with a popular audience in order to legitimate educational reform: ‘pressure groups and practitioner advocates created an educational space dominated

⁷⁷ James Chapman, Editor of *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, discussing submissions to this journal at an advice on publishing session for postgraduates, Sixteenth Biennial Conference of the International Association for Media and History (IAMHIST) *Media and History Revisited*, Indiana University, Bloomington June 17–20, 2015.

⁷⁸ Eric James was also a member of the ASG during the period under consideration but Smith makes no reference to this when he discusses networks. D. N. Smith ‘Academics, the ‘cultural third mission’ and the BBC: forgotten histories of knowledge creation, transformation and impact’ *Studies in Higher Education*, Vol. 38, 2013, 5.

⁷⁹ K. Jones and H. Davies, ‘Representing education 1969–1980: notes on Kes and Grange Hill’ *History of Education*, Vol.30, 2001, Issue 2, 141–142.

by questions of access, opportunity and social justice.’⁸⁰ Jones tended to focus on the dramatic and well-known subject matter: The 1955 film ‘Blackboard Jungle’; the commentary of Mary Whitehouse from the 1960s onwards, and scandals surrounding William Tyndale primary school in the 1970s.

None of the published literature reviewed here has made use of the source material unearthed for this study which specifically focuses on the representation of secondary education. Surviving archival records at BBC WAC provide a wealth of information about how contemporaries discussed education and how collaboration between individuals shaped the final form that these programmes took. The three Appendices of BBC programmes which represent secondary education that can be viewed at the end of this study do not exist in any published form. Without revisiting what was presented in these programmes a recognition of broadcast conversation about educational reform is missing an important dimension. Focusing on this broadcast material helps the reader to appreciate the effect of lobbying and friendship groups and how the conversations in these communities shaped the formation of programmes. The programmes chosen are not the ones which became familiar monuments for the historian and ‘sightseer’ of this postwar educational landscape. Programmes that touched on temporary and intense debates which may have subsequently been forgotten about, or amalgamated with other controversial educational issues, are also of interest.

Chief Education Officers and the All Souls Group (ASG)

Networks within educational history have long been recognized as a key to understanding how ideas were shared and biographies interacted, for instance the work of Cunningham has examined prosopography and Pietsch and Goodman have explored transnational flows of ideas amongst scholars.⁸¹ Informal educational discussion groups such as the Moot have been occasionally discussed in print, for example in the work of Steele and Taylor.⁸² However, the conversations of

⁸⁰ K. Jones, *Education in Britain: 1944 to the present* (Oxford: Polity, 2003), 125.

⁸¹ P. Cunningham ‘Innovators, networks and structures: towards a prosopography of progressivism’ *History of Education*, 2001, 30:5; J. Goodman ‘Women and international intellectual co-operation’ *Paedagogica Historica*, 2012, 48:3; T. Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: universities, networks and the British academic world, 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

⁸² T. Steele and R. Taylor, ‘Oldham’s Moot (1938–1947), the universities and the adult citizen’, *History of Education*, 2010, Vol 34:2.

educational administrators unminuted and exempt from the practices of formal committees, have been left unreconstructed by historians.

The broadcast media also formed the space in which the ASG convener, Newsom, and other CEOs and head teachers spoke most directly to the public and beyond their local realms of responsibility. The role of CEOs in England and Wales should be explained and their informal networks recognized. CEOs were introduced after the 1902 Education Act when the responsibility for providing education was placed with the county and county borough councils. LEAs replaced the democratically elected School Boards and the CEOs were responsible for the education of all age groups not just those who had yet to reach the school leaving age. Brooksbank and Ackstine described the role of CEOs as educational administrators serving their LEAs as ‘democratic organizations.’⁸³ In their administrative work CEOs had to reflect the views of their local education committee and could be restricted in their actions if they did not have the support of that committee. When it came to voicing their views in BBC broadcast, their role was much less clear-cut and from the evidence of the BBC WAC it does not appear that they felt pressured by the same obligation to their education committees that their administrative role demanded. However, we still cannot draw the conclusion that an individual such as Newsom was speaking simply as an independent observer. The role of CEO is understood to be that of a public servant not a civil servant. Briggs observed that Newsom acted like a higher civil servant in his working life – always concerned with the responsibility of the immediate group around him.⁸⁴ The historian of education Brian Simon cast Newsom as a ‘multiple office-holder and imperial functionary’.⁸⁵

It can be recognized that the BBC may well have been happy to draw CEOs into their realm as commentators on education because they would not generally be closely associated with any particular political party. Kogan describes the responsibilities of CEOs in the light of the 1944 Education Act as ‘implementing welfare state legislation in a period of great economic stringency.’ They administered tripartite arrangements for secondary education for all: ‘first installed as means of educational and social reform and later challenged and eroded on the grounds they

⁸³ K. Brooksbank and A. E. Ackstine, *Educational Administration* (Harlow: Councils and Education Press, 1984), 163.

⁸⁴ A. Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their Books 1724-1990: Longevity in publishing*, (London: British Library, New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll, 2008), 424.

⁸⁵ Quoted in D. Parker *John Newsom: Hertfordshire Educationalist* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press: 2005), 247.

perpetuated class division.’⁸⁶ None of Kogan’s published work explores the overlap between CEOs and the media; he prefers to focus on their relations with other administrators in local government, with ministers and civil servants in central government and on their limited contact with the public. Kogan ponders whether CEOs ‘hold the ring between policy and action’ or whether they ‘infact embody another set of values.’⁸⁷ It is important to recognize that CEOs socialising also offers clues as to how they sustained their contribution to broadcast debate.

Goodwin observed a tendency amongst academics to shy away from researching conscious government intervention in the editorial life of the BBC, heeding the warning from Hoggart, another ASG member, that to do so would be romantic indulgence. Goodwin suggests that empirical studies of archival evidence do point not to conspiracy but to a conscious political pressure towards conformity.⁸⁸ Kogan’s work on CEOs can be read retrospectively as a defence of the integrity of CEOs and an appeal for recognition that informal socializing leads to connections that are ‘discontinuous and not systematic.’ Kogan insisted: ‘Relationships between individual directors and individual officers of the Department of Education and Science, may be cordial but they possess none of the collective attributes of a ‘ruling class ‘or ‘power elite.’⁸⁹

When the ASG was mentioned in academic literature there have been few quotable sources to draw on since a group that meets under Chatham House Rule does not generate minuted archival material. Former Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, MP until 1950 and founder ASG member, Kenneth Lindsay (1897–1991) (Figure 15), writing to Newsom’s former secretary and fellow ASG member Mary Ollis in an unpublished letter, referred to the ‘behind the scenes’ and ‘very English anonymity’ of the ASG and contrasted that with the PEP, to which he also belonged. The PEP he stated needed to be public so that contributors got credit.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ M. Kogan, *County Hall: the role of the Chief Education Officer* (with William van der Eyken in conversation with Dan Cook, Claire Pratt, George Taylor) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 61.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 15–16. Maurice Kogan (1930–2007), read history Christs College, Cambridge; civil servant Ministry of Education (1953–1967); private secretary to Edward Boyle (1957–1959); from 1969, Professor of Government and Social Administration, Brunel, London. On leaving the civil service for academia he became a member of the ASG.

⁸⁸ P. Goodwin, ‘Low Conspiracy? Government interference in the BBC’, *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* (University of Westminster, London) Vol. 2. (1) 2005, 97, 98.

⁸⁹ T. Bush & M. Kogan, *Directors of Education* (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1982), 12–13.

⁹⁰ Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL, ASG 3/2, Folder 2 of 2, Lindsay to Ollis, letter dated 1981. After leaving Ware grammar school in 1940, Mary Ollis worked for Newsom in various roles at Hertfordshire LEA and then Longmans publishers. She typed up documents for the ASG before

Quigley's published work, written without footnotes, listed the ASG as one of a number of influential secret societies, which relied on self-censorship. Quigley stated that he was broadly in support of the aims of such groups but questioned their need to remain secret.⁹¹ Kogan, again without referencing his personal involvement, described the ASG as a place 'where some opinion might be formed'. He allowed that it includes a cross-section of interested participants but by the end of the paragraph on this topic he is rather playing down the relevance of the group by pointing out that many important decision makers are not present and that it was more a matter of education being 'a fashionable subject.'⁹² Maclure later commends Kogan for ascribing a modest influence to the ASG and implies that 'American PhD students' needed to be 'fended off' and were misguided in their search for evidence that the ASG was a carrier of secret influence – 'how few were the secrets' he mused to himself in print.⁹³ Whitehead's study of Colonial Educators included further references to the ASG as an informal social gathering for the well connected and affluent: 'The group attracted a diverse and impressive array of talent despite an annual membership fee of £1 and members being required to pay for their own dinner and accommodation before and after meetings!'⁹⁴

Of these four authors none touched on the overlap between the ASG and broadcasting, though Maclure acknowledges that as a journalist he would attend meetings to 'glean the gossip' and make links 'not exclusively' with *Education* and the *Times Education Supplement*. The ASG was never directly referenced in the media during the lifetime of Newsom, but after his death media coverage became intermittent and occasionally acknowledged the relationship between the group and education reports such as the James Report. In 1993 a *Sunday Telegraph* article quoted the then convener of the ASG: 'It is not secret but it is not public.'⁹⁵ Maclure's published writing offers credit to various long-term members but little

becoming an actual member. PEP was an abbreviation for Political and Economic Planning – a Think Tank formed in 1931. Original members included Max Nicholson, Leonard Elmhirst, Julian Huxley and civil servants. Sociologist Michael Young was subsequently involved.

⁹¹ See C. Quigley *The Anglo-American establishment: from Rhodes to Cliveden* (New York: Books in Focus, 1981) and C. Quigley *A History of The World in Our Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1966).

⁹² M. Kogan (assisted by K. Bowden) *Educational Policy-Making: A Study of Interest Groups and Parliament* (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1975), 236.

⁹³ Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, 6.

⁹⁴ C. Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: the British, Indian and colonial education service 1858–1983* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2003), 201.

⁹⁵ 'Education's Own Group Practice' *Guardian*, 14.3.72, questioned the overlap between the All Souls Group & the James Report and named James, Judge, Milroy, Porter and Weaver as members of the ASG. See ASG/3/7, Newsam Archives IoE/UCL for copy of *Sunday Telegraph* article.

visual description other than the group seated in a semi-circle in Rhodes House in winter, staring into the fire under the bust of their ‘Imperial benefactor.’⁹⁶

Ozga and Gewirtz’s work on interviewing the education policy elite struck a helpful balance in terms of literature on the ASG. It drew attention to the ‘figures who remain in place while politicians come and go.’⁹⁷ Newsom and his friends fitted this description and the continuity of their on-air broadcast conversations merits historical enquiry. When Newsom appeared in a BBC television broadcast ‘Private Opinion’, filmed at a dinner party in Wilton Crescent in 1953, he quoted the warden of Toynbee Hall, J J Mallon commending the programme: ‘The show was ... a great relief after the over-party political discussions ... I hope it will give a general lead to the BBC.’⁹⁸ Ozga and Gewirtz’s work on interviewing the education policy elite in the 1980s and 1990s did not concern itself with such anecdotes from broadcasting but offered a challenge important to this study. They argued that the pluralistic accounts of postwar policy-making had taken as problematic the more visible features of the policy-making process and sought to explain these rather than looking for the deeper conditions on which these features depend. They also wondered whether there was a collusion between the interviewers and the interviewees in their work:

‘We offered an unthreatening, interested and sympathetic version of ourselves; they offered us their smooth and polished self-presentation, which incorporated gentlemanly hospitality and courtesy ... the affected confusion ... allied to strong beliefs, clearly articulated, an assumption of superiority and impatience.’⁹⁹

Ozga and Gewirtz emphasized the continuity of views, backgrounds and assumptions that existed from the late nineteenth century until the late twentieth century in circles of influential educationalists and suggested that it is only through an exploration of this social cohesion that we can begin to understand the informal pattern of policy-

⁹⁶ Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, 14, acknowledging this sculpture of Cecil Rhodes watching over them. Maclure was also against ‘orderly rows’ that did not ‘preserve informality of conversation’.

⁹⁷ J. Ozga, *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested terrain* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 122. The research project was carried out with Sharon Gewirtz.

⁹⁸ BBC WAC, TVArt 1, Newsom, Newsom to Miller Jones, July 28, 1953. ‘Private Opinion’ tx: 24/7/53, was filmed at the home of Conservative MP for Winchester, Peter Smithers and included the journalists Mary Grieve, Marghanita Laski & historian A J P Taylor.

⁹⁹ Ozga et al., ‘Sex, Lies and Audiotape’, 131.

making and grasp the nature of a group of individuals as an elite fraction of the state apparatus. Ozga was the first to publish an interview with an ASG member, former Director of Education for Derbyshire and regular BBC broadcaster Jack Longland (Figure 16). Longland described the unofficial nature of the influential interactions of the ASG, which sought dialogue with senior civil servants.¹⁰⁰ If these interviews touched on the ASG connection with broadcasting the comments from members remain as yet unpublished.

Membership of the ASG was only privately printed intermittently with the first printed list dating from 1959, 18 years after the group first formed. This list showed 61 living members and 9 deceased. Archival typed lists from the early 1940s show 35 members including 17 educational administrators, most of whom were CEOs, 9 university administrators (mostly from Oxford), 3 Public School teachers, 2 Members of Parliament, 2 publishers, 2 journalists and one member of staff from the BBC.¹⁰¹ As various members let their membership lapse and lost interest in the group over time some of that original 35 were still living in 1959 but had no prolonged commitment to the group. For the purpose of this study the members who became involved in representing secondary education on the BBC broadcasting are focused upon. From the founder members these include the aforementioned Newsom, Longland and Lindsay as well as Roger Noel Armfelt, Robert Birley, Harold Dent, M V C Jeffreys, W O Lester Smith, Henry Morris and Graham Savage. Of these men only Savage had given up his membership by the 1950s (and Armfelt had died). Those members who joined in the later 1940s, 1950s or early 1960s and spoke about secondary education in BBC broadcast include the aforementioned Fisher, James, Maclure, Miles and Rée, in addition to Catherine Avent, Robert Beloe, Francis Cammaerts, Mary Helen Ogilvie, Alexander Peterson (commonly known as Alec Peterson) and John Wolfenden. Membership of this informal group might be printed in occasional lists but needs to be recognized as more amorphous than a list can accommodate. John Redcliffe Maud (Figure 17), Newsom's former tutor at Oxford, does not appear on these lists and yet archival sources show he was invited to all meetings. Civil Servant at the Ministry of Education, Toby Weaver was in a similar

¹⁰⁰ See note 21.

¹⁰¹ Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL, ASG 3/2 Folder 1 of 1. Armfelt was the ASG member employed by the BBC. Frederick Ogilvie, Director General of the BBC 1938–1942 was also an ASG member until his death in 1949.

position.¹⁰² Various members of the group were based overseas such as the educational advisor Christopher Cox, so did not attend often in person.¹⁰³ Some influential figures in education during the postwar period never belonged. For instance, William Alexander, chairman of the Association of Committees of Education from 1945, who admired Newsom's communication skills but found him too much of a 'maverick' and Alec Clegg.¹⁰⁴

The members of ASG most involved with broadcast coverage of secondary education are perhaps coincidentally the ones about whom there has been the least biographical or academic literature published. Of these ASG members listed above, it is conspicuous that there are relatively few published sources focusing on any of them, and published sources that do exist tend to have been generated by their circle of friends.¹⁰⁵ Armfelt, Dent and Fisher stand out as having a particular absence of archival material about them accessible in public archives although BBC WAC does provide a useful set of sources to redress this balance. Newsom's role as head of Longmans publishers also brought book contracts for a number of these names listed above. Newsom himself was later the subject of a biography published in Hertfordshire, focusing on his formal administrative roles.¹⁰⁶ Quigley observed that the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) had the power to write people in and out of history and comments on the influence in this respect of editor Bill Williams (Edgar Williams) Warden of Rhodes House, who it was later claimed euphemistically referred to intelligence work in ODNB articles as 'foreign office employment.'¹⁰⁷ Williams was also an ASG member who Maclure refers somewhat wryly to as providing a 'benign but watchful eye' over the ASG. Maclure

¹⁰² After the death of his parents, Weaver was raised by Labour politician Sir Richard Stafford Cripps. Educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Weaver worked in the Department of Education 1946–1973. Ozga, *Policy Research*, 124, notes Weaver was also a member of an informal group, 'Young Contemporaries', with ASG member, Norman Fisher.

¹⁰³ Christopher Cox, (1899–1982) educational adviser to the British government 1940–1970, worked in the Colonial Office and later Ministry of Overseas Development. See 'Papers of Sir Christopher Cox', CO 1045, National Archives, for further ASG correspondence.

¹⁰⁴ Maclure *Sixty Years On*, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Of the 18 ASG members listed only Birley, Newsom and Morris have been the subject of biographies, monographs or Festschriften. These writings have been produced by their familiar circle. Another ASG member wrote the first published biography of Morris: Harry Rée, *Educator extraordinary: The life and achievement of Henry Morris, 1889–1961* (London: Longmans, 1973). Richard Hoggart also joined the ASG in the 1960s but he broadcast little on secondary education.

¹⁰⁶ For the biography of John Newsom see: Parker, *John Newsom* (2005). For examples of book contracts Newsom provided see for example M. Miles, *Comprehensive Schooling: Problems and Perspectives* (Harlow: Longmans, 1968) and Rée's biography of Morris. See note 105 above.

¹⁰⁷ Quigley, *Anglo-American Establishment*, 99 and Obituary, 'Sir Edgar Williams', (1912–1995), *Independent*, 6.7.95.

acknowledged that in ‘another life’ Williams had been Field Marshall Montgomery’s chief intelligence officer.¹⁰⁸

The documents surviving on these individuals can be seen in the words of Steedman to both offer permission to comment and yet impose a forbidding sense of trespassing.¹⁰⁹ Self-awareness of both their mission and their ventures into new media were crucial to their collaborative projects and perhaps to their shared presumption that they were participating in the safeguarding of culture in the national interest. It can be argued that the ASG did view themselves as having a mission to educate public opinion on postwar educational reform. This mission, whether it was collectively understood or interpreted in individual idiosyncratic ways, was deemed more important than seeking personal credit for what was being communicated. Newsom’s role as convener of the ASG does not entirely explain his prolonged involvement with the BBC but does offer some hint as to why he was seen as having his finger on the pulse both in terms of the preliminary meanderings of policy-making and wider scrutiny of the unfolding of the 1944 Education Act. The ASG had a vested interest in power over educational reform, a degree of access to broadcasting, and yet simultaneously no fixed address as a meeting place, and a fragmented, vetted and deliberately elusive archive. To borrow Quintin Hogg’s imagery, the ASG appears to be one ‘parcel’ of knowledge.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, 5.

¹⁰⁹ C. Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), xi.

¹¹⁰ Lord Hailsham (Quintin Hogg): ‘If power is not to be abused it must be spread as widely as possible throughout the community ... the splitting up of political and legal power into different parcels is the essential means of securing it.’ Stuart Maclure & Thomas Utley (Eds.) *Documents of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 73. Newsom’s ASG correspondence was on letterheads from either Hertfordshire LEA, 1941–1955 or, from 1956 onwards Longmans publishers.

Methods

We ate our dinner in comparative silence and at nine o'clock on the dot the Swiss Valet brought in a little portable radio put it on the table next to him and switched on the nine o'clock news which he listened to and I realized this was a ritual as important as toasting the Queen before one spoke. Immediately the nine o'clock news had finished the Swiss Valet took the radio away and the evening was then open for conversation, and it was marvelous conversation.

Richard Cawston recalling dinner with Churchill circa 1950, BBC WAC R143/23 Oral History Transcript

It is not a matter of 'distrusting' pictures but of understanding them as complex objects that continue to gain new meanings in their circulation and use. They are not "bounded" objects whose truth is out there to be reached by perfect methodologies.

Inez Dussel, 'The Visual Turn in the History of Education: Four Comments for a Historiographical Discussion' in T. Popkewitz *Rethinking the History of Education*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 36–37.

Any fixed contour is in nature arbitrary and impermanent. What's on one side of it tries to shift it by pushing or pulling... The challenge of drawing is to show this, to make visible on the paper or drawing surface not only discrete, recognizable things, but also to show that the extensive is one substance. And being one substance it harasses the act of drawing. If the lines of drawing don't convey this harassment the drawing remains a mere sign.

John Berger, *Bento's Sketch Book* (London: Verso, 2015), 113.

Introduction

Archival research involving written evidence is often assumed to be self-explanatory. A researcher reads the documents, thinks about them, juxtaposes them with other evidence and in some instances uses software to measure and 'mine' the regularity of references to various topics. Much of the research carried out for this study is archival research involving written sources that have been preserved on paper or on microfilm. A small proportion of the sources used were documentary films, usually viewed at the BFI Viewing services. The verb drawing in the title of this study is central in terms of referencing methods used but at the same time the practical use of drawing is not frequently referred to in the chapters of findings that follow. This perceived contradiction needs explanation. I draw out material from different archival collections. Sometimes this involves the actual physical act of drawing/sketching by hand as a way of making visual notes and new artefacts. At other times it is a case of drawing as you might draw water from a well. When confronted with radio scripts and files of correspondence I am also drawing up networks, allegiances, moments of

trust and doubt, whether I am analysing words or images. I am pulling up useful material from fragmented archives that leave some sources hidden or lost to the record entirely. I use drawing to build a bigger and more mobile archive when confronted with certain gaps or regulations, and to think analytically about a close reading of texts of all kinds. However, I do not use drawing as a tool. Drawing is not used as an explicit tool of interpretation in the chapters that follow. Both as a verb and a physical act, drawing attempts to solve problems encountered as a researcher. This does not necessitate evangelising drawing as a methodology. Dussel summarises the work of Grosvenor – pictures cannot be unpacked by ‘perfect methodologies’. Nor I would argue, can drawing be heralded as a methodology that draws ‘truth’ from ‘data’.¹¹¹ Drawing is a means to discovery and reflection but in its very nature it is as elusive as the un-minuted informal discussion groups or BBC off-the-record-decision making, which leave no concrete records in archival space.

Burke and Grosvenor’s work on the school architect Robson discussed how some may have shied away from this topic of research due to absence of evidence: ‘The documentary record does little to reveal these webs of knowledge drawn through personal contacts and relationships ... It is in a particular use of the historical imagination that such a montage of gaps can be explored’¹¹² The archival records used in this study go some way to reveal those webs of knowledge and I am less dependent on a montage of gaps. Drawing helps me to develop lines which touch the boundaries of liminal spaces and then leave blank space unmarked by the harassment of lines. In the absence of certain evidence, hints can be developed but left at the level of suggestion. In this chapter I explain the archival situation in which I have worked and the methods used to draw evidence to enrich the subsequent chapters of findings. Historical imagination comes to play at times, but it is less necessary than it might have been if working with a more limited range of archival sources. There was much archival material to discover but the material had been archived in a way that did not present a straightforward journey for the researcher with my particular research questions.

¹¹¹ I. Dussel ‘The Visual Turn in the History of Education: Four Comments for a Historiographical Discussion’ in Popkewitz, *Rethinking*, 37 and I. Grosvenor ‘The school album: Images, insights and inequalities’ *Educació i Història. Revista d’Història de l’Educació* 15: 149–164.

¹¹² C. Burke and I. Grosvenor ‘The ‘body parts’ of the Victorian School Architect E R Robson or the exploration of the writing and reading of a life’ in Popkewitz, *Rethinking*, 207.

Researching Radio in an Archive that Did Not Collect Sound

In my qualitative archival research my methodological choices were subtly influenced by my discoveries. Researching a group such as the ASG that sought to limit its archival footprint, and specifically researching that group's involvement in BBC programmes that no longer exist as sound recording, and documentary film which has only been partially conserved, brings with it a number of challenges. The ASG Archive material at Newsam Archives presented fragmented evidence of the ASG meetings from 1941 onwards. For my purposes surviving evidence from 1944–1965 was particularly relevant. The papers were uncatalogued when I first looked at them in 2012 and became organized and catalogued by the archivists while researchers were using them and while archivists were resolving the status of how they could or could not be used in publication. Paperwork created around meetings held under Chatham House Rule is somewhat contradictory in its nature. Spoken observations become attributable in quotation although speakers understood at the time that they spoke off the record. Asides made at unminuted gatherings were not envisaged by speakers as documentary sources for future historians.

The ASG was not a group that had managed their archive as official documents. My interest was the ASG's involvement in BBC representation of secondary education and the archive had not been organized imagining that the overlap with the BBC would be of interest to a researcher. The ASG archive had been on a long journey to find a home and, in the process of that journey, material had been sifted and re-dated and sequenced in different orders by different interested parties. The main advantage for me of this ASG archive was establishing who was involved in the group either as a member or a guest. I could then look up those individuals in BBC WAC contributor files and surviving scripts to read something of the stories of how the individuals, who happened to be ASG members, built their relationships with the BBC. My Appendices were then built up between 2013–2016 as I found relevant scripts or correspondence involving not only ASG members but various figures who lent their voices to coverage of secondary education in BBC broadcast. As associations with the ASG could be quite fluid and membership inconsistent, I have used symbols in the Appendices to show which speakers on programmes were either members or guests at meetings. Membership of the ASG was not something that

could be categorically caged in a table of absolute belonging.¹¹³

BBC Genome was also developing as a digital online archive constructed by the BBC while I was carrying out research, so that was useful for checking certain details although this was a digital database which did not include Overseas broadcasts at the time of carrying out the research. In the space of this study I could not discuss all the programmes listed in the Appendices and indeed surviving evidence about the listed programmes varies considerably. The programmes that form the basis of this discussion are often the ones about which the most evidence has survived either in the forms of accessible legible scripts or extensive correspondence between those making the programmes. Some of the programmes listed have little surviving evidence relating to them but the struggle of different voices, either apparent through some correspondence or fragments of scripts, were chosen to be discussed in chapters because they conveyed some of the tensions around the representation of secondary education. I selected and drew out material that I thought would bring to life in the mind of the reader a sample of the surviving evidence.

214 of the 235 programmes considered in this study were made for radio broadcast. I have read and reflected on the available sources and tried to piece together an understanding of the making of programmes. In the process of carrying out the research I realized that editing was a powerful force in elevating or reducing the impact of different speakers in broadcasting. The power of editing shaped both spoken word and audiovisual broadcast and altered across the time period of this study as technology developed. In the 1940s and 1950s speakers were usually physically present in a studio to voice their views on secondary education. Over time editors had more and more power to splice together source material gathered on visits to educational spaces and those who were chosen to be heard or to make themselves visible in programmes had less and less say in how their contributions were presented, in terms of what and who they were juxtaposed with. There was no moment of absolute change in practice. It depended on the interest and adventures of the individuals collaborating on a programme. Understanding that editing process was helped by the availability of correspondence at BBC WAC between the different contributors to programmes and BBC staff but the ultimate decisions as to who made the edits before broadcast and who cut certain sections or sentences from programmes

¹¹³ See 'Key to Appendices' page 220.

– such information has not left authored traces. I became aware of the struggle to get certain ideas or information heard on air but remained ignorant around the decisions and responsibilities of the final edit. Those decisions were not justified on paper or captured in sound recording.

BBC WAC is an almost silent archive, which does not contain publicly accessible sound recordings. Even the birds of prey that fly above the building are too high to be audible. The main noises in the space of BBC WAC are the whirring and clatter of microfilms being rewound by researchers and Marion the receptionist laughing and chattering as she signs people in at the front desk. Researchers cannot hear the programmes they are researching, except in their imagination. The National Sound Archive was the place I could hear the voices of contributors I was interested in for this study but the actual recordings I heard there were from latter periods when the archiving of sound recordings had become more widespread. I could hear how Newsom sounded in 1968 or Rée or Miles in the 1980s but I could not hear the voices in the programmes I was working with.¹¹⁴

Few BBC sound or television broadcasts on the subject of education have been preserved. There does not appear to have been an expectation by the BBC in the immediate post-war decades that such material would come to be of interest to historians and, as a matter of expediency and cost saving, tapes were wiped over and re-used. Perhaps the BBC's concern that its tradition of neutrality was maintained did not encourage the development of an archive where material could be easily accessed. Seaton describes how BBC WAC was created by the BBC initially for Briggs. The aim was to provide the 'essence' of the Corporation which could be reduced to 2000 files. Seaton refers to the process as a 'catastrophe'. In the process of cataloguing the 'integrity of the original files was lost, file covers thrown away and no record was kept of where the assembled papers had come from.'¹¹⁵

For the contemporary contributors to the programmes made in the immediate postwar decades it can be presumed that most understood their comments, both

¹¹⁴ Sound Recordings accessible at the British Library include: Newsom Report on public schools, Sir John Newsom, 1968-07-22; NLSC: Leaders of National Life, Rée, Harry 1914–1991, 1988-05-31; 1990-03-17; Friends (4) Naomi Mitchison and Dame Margaret Miles discuss friendship.

¹¹⁵ Nichols, *The Age of Asa*, 199–200. Nichols describes attempts by Jackie Kavanagh and Guinevere Jones to 'remedy the ruins' and create BBC WAC. On BBC Oral History, Nichols mentions that Frank Gillard did most of the first interviews: 'the oral history archive (although a hugely fertile source for historians) has always been disconnected from the history. The interviews are in BBC terms too political for any mere outsider to control and many remain closed.' 200–201.

flippant and serious, were largely lost to the airwaves unless the programme to which they contributed commanded a review in print or were converted to prose for *The Listener*. The BBC also embarked upon an extensive oral history project, which is currently largely inaccessible to researchers but in the process of being digitized so that edited highlights will be accessed online. These stories will enrich the understanding of how various individuals were involved with the making of programmes and contributed to their final broadcast form. However, the choreographing of material for web access shapes the impression of how we track and reflect on these sources. A selection that could have been actively led by the needs of researchers outside the BBC may sound very different than a selection overseen by the BBC itself.¹¹⁶

At BBC WAC I could not analyse the prosody of the spoken word or recapture the excitement, humour, disdain or sarcasm that may have imbued the broadcasts. Street suggests that radio was for much of the twentieth century: ‘ephemeral like the voice of the minstrel or the bard. If it was broadcasting the human voice, that voice was part of the immediate experience, complementing and in some cases overriding the meaning of the words themselves.’¹¹⁷ Cawston remembers that for Churchill the radio provided the cue to allow conversation at the dinner table, the moment at which ‘comparative silence’ and regimented routine could give way to conversation. Whether that conversation was about the news or about related matters, the radio and its injection of information symbolized the moment conversation could begin. From my point of view the search was not for the conversations that resulted from listening to the radio, but instead to trace the conversations, both spoken and committed to paper, which led to the making of the programmes in the first place.

The BBC programme scripts from the first BBC broadcasts in the 1920s through to the early 1970s, were photographed and microfilmed and then the paper copies destroyed during the 1970s without any clear index system being created that allows researchers to find the scripts. Some scripts are listed alphabetically by a main speaker but others are catalogued on microfilm under totally different topic headings such as ‘Parents and Children’ so the process of tracking and identifying programmes relevant to my study cannot depend either on card catalogues, online databases or an alphabetical sequence of surnames. This makes the research painstaking but more

¹¹⁶ <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/publicculturehub/research/100voices>.

¹¹⁷ S. Street *The Poetry of Radio: The Colour of Sound* (London: Routledge, 2012), 15.

satisfying as few educational historians have gone to the length of actually finding scripts which commented on secondary education reform and analyzed their content. Similarly, in the realm of documentary footage although certain programmes and sections of programmes on secondary education are available online and famous scenes are re-edited and spliced into contemporary documentaries on twenty first century secondary education, the material I have chosen has not been widely circulated in a digital form and several of the BBC television programmes I discuss have not survived at all as audiovisual sources. In these instances, only scripts, correspondence and still photographs have been conserved. In addition to much material having been destroyed over the years, decisions have been made by BFI and BBC staff as to which documentaries will appear on selections for public access online or be issued as DVDs and which documentaries will remain part of an undigitized store of VHS viewing copies and original reels of film. These choices then skew public perceptions of what material is available and how the priorities of contemporary documentary makers from the 1950s and 1960s can be understood. I have tried to move beyond that provision of easily accessible material.

No quality control was exercised on the transfer of BBC scripts from paper to microfilm so some include ghostly images of the technicians' hands and fingers obscuring printed words and some are barely legible. However many of those relevant to this study can be deciphered. The BBC archived radio transcripts that are teledictaphone recordings or marked 'As Broadcast' show the text as heard on air. Some other surviving scripts show the crossings out of what the speaker hoped to say, or was pre-recorded saying, but when it came to editing his allotted time or subject matter was curtailed for various reasons. Sometimes the length of a broadcast necessitated cuts, sometimes a speaker regretted what they said and requested that something be edited out. Sometimes BBC staff thought elements of what had been said sounded too much like publicity for a certain cause or were tangential to the purpose of the discussion. So the surviving scripts are not consistently those as broadcast. Some belong to rehearsals or in a few cases teledictaphone recordings of interview material typed up before selections were made for actual broadcast. There is no public catalogue for these microfilms and the original archival decision-making processes as to whether a programme was catalogued alphabetically under main speaker or programme series has to be established from sets of thematic index cards and a fair amount of trial and error. In these circumstances, some but not all, of the

radio scripts of programmes that are relevant to my study can be traced. Few of the foreign language scripts that were contributed to Overseas have survived.

The paperwork on the making of programmes, both on television and radio, have been preserved more consistently. Most of the educationalist contributors that I look at in this study were not members of BBC staff, so their work as consultants and broadcasters is filed under their name and original correspondence, memos, invoices and booking requisition slips have remained accessible to researchers. In this respect the sources give a steady impression of who he was in communication with, who recommended who and who criticized who, while programmes were being made. There are unexpected inconsistencies which can cause imbalances in what a researcher can access. For example the CEOs, Fisher and Longland, were regular long-term Chairs on various BBC Series and yet despite the regularity of their work their paperwork is filed in the same way as that of an occasional contributor who was invited on air to give their particular opinions perhaps only a handful of times. Other contributors' paperwork can be filed in different ways, which is not immediately visible in the reading room shelf catalogues which are in themselves quite idiosyncratic. This suggests that the making of programmes and the invitations to broadcast were not always backed up by written communication by BBC staff and that at times invitations to broadcast were scheduled in a way that somehow eluded the normal formality of archiving. Sometimes there is a simpler explanation however. After years of not being able to access papers on James at BBC WAC I was finally informed that it was because I had not noticed that his contributions were commissioned by BBC Manchester and therefore existed in a separate set of files which were not included in the main 'RCont' files. Despite this insight into an overlooked set of regional files I was still left with a gap in my sources and this was the kind of gap that no actual drawing could fill. BBC WAC held no accessible letters between James and the programme makers for the years 1944–1965. All the letters that were visible to me as a researcher were about James, not written to or from James directly. This could be because archival material has been lost but it is more likely that James organized his BBC broadcasts locally in Manchester with a certain amount of conversational informality that required no letter writing. All that survives in the contributor files for James in the period that concerns me are the invoices and the requisition slips to show that programmes were made. The justification for programmes from the Appendices that merit or do not merit discussion in the three

chapters of findings is shaped in part by the extent of surviving documentation which varies considerably, as I hope I have explained in this section.

Why drawing is a Form of Note-Taking but Not a Tool

Although only 21 of the 235 programmes examined in this study were audiovisual and of that 21 only a quarter have survived in the form of viewing copies, I found that drawing paused images from the surviving viewing copies helped me understand something of the significance of editing in producing representations of secondary education. Drawing helped me to think more about the editors having made these films for contemporaries and to consider how they were then viewed retrospectively, with the benefit, or disadvantage, of hindsight. I hoped drawing paused frames and slowly watching parts of a film, frame by frame, as an editor had once sequenced them, might provide a kind of time travel back to the contemporary moment when the film was made. Where copyright rules do allow, I find it too easy to go to an archive and take endless digital images of written and visual records and hoard them on my computer, captured but not read.

Documentary film used in this study was not usually accessible as screenshots or other photographic images that could be captured and taken from the archive. This made it difficult to share with a reader of a subsequent academic publication or conference presentation the visual material that was being discussed in words. The BFI viewing services had for instance a number of resources useful to me that were not digitized for online access, DVD use, or any use that would permit the making of stills from these resources. There is the added issue of copyright regarding the making of still images from material, which a filmmaker created to be viewed as moving images. We often forget those blurred boundaries in the modern world where screenshots taken from paused frames of moving images are so commonplace that issues of the filmmaker's intention and copyright are overlooked. Drawing as a form of note taking in my PhD research evolved because I had no other way of stilling and sharing paused moments from a succession of audiovisual images that I could witness at the BFI viewing services, unless I paused the films and drew evidence from the paused frames. My initial attempts to make these records did not set out to suggest that I could see something different in the process of drawing paused frames. Those who might slow down the films and watch sequences frame by frame may glean the same information without necessarily being able to draw. I did not seek to elevate the

status of drawing as something that brought new academic insight; it was to me simply useful as a way to communicate the evidence that I could not legally carry out of the archive digitally. The implication hovered that I could not prove that I was able to see something in the process of drawing which others might miss in the process of simply looking and listening. I wanted to make visual notes because I do not think in words and because I was concerned about a tendency in academic research that situated the individual who interpreted the visual in words as more perceptive than the maker who actually created the visual material in the first place.

My motivation to draw also came from a suspicion that if you could not carry something out of the archive for further reflection then you may be at risk of basing academic argument on the gist of something – on a half memory. I wanted to reconstruct what I saw through drawing and at times through written notes added to the drawing (See Figures 25 & 26 & 27 & 28). Then when I used these sketches to support academic writing I was being as loyal as I could to the sources I had seen. However, on reflection the choices I was making in choosing what to draw, skewed the evidence created because I was often drawn to make images of interactions between people. It was such interactions between people that made the broadcasts in the first place and my preoccupation was with the human interactions rather than the material. I could dwell on the interactions in front of the camera when my primary interest were the interactions behind the camera. Had I had a stronger interest in the material details captured on film, I would have made very different drawings.

Berger's remarks about drawing and harassment interested me because there is something agitated and searching about drawing. The necessary movement involved, the looking and thinking as you try to capture something on paper involves a harassment that is not always noticed by those who look at drawing as a pleasant or skillful record of aesthetic experience. At the same time I was acutely aware of the limitations of drawing as a historian's research method. What might be useful to me as a historian, such as the moment I drew the split second of Cawston's montage film editing of Isaiah Berlin and Kenneth Horn in 'This is the BBC' (Figure 18) might record the way I personally noticed things in research, but this did not mean that drawing was necessary to another historian who might notice aspects of a sequence

without needing to make a visual pencil record.¹¹⁸ Working with Cawston's edited film on a very slow speed was particularly rewarding because his use of montage betrayed the games he played as an editor quite clearly whether you paused the film to total stillness to draw a frame or whether you simply watched it slowed down.

Drawing the frames acted as a break on my impatience or my temptation to fabricate.

I recognize the subjective element of my using drawing as a research process, but there is for everyone a subjective dimension when it comes to what is lingered over or dismissed while researching. I did not purposefully set out when I began this PhD research to depend to any large extent on visual material. It turned out that both the process of drawing and the illustrations I stumbled upon while researching shaped my thinking. The power of the image as used by publishers to conjure optimism during World War Two became apparent to me: the engravings for the 1941 Oxford University Press bible, including one of a father in a newly built flat guiding his son to appreciate the urban environment around him (Figure 19); the 1941 engraving 'The Secret Hope' illustration of the Resistance listening to the radio in Occupied Europe with the radio was presented as a secret source of liberation from Nazi oppression (Figure 20). I was also struck by the disconnect between visual sources and the written word in many historical publications. Maclure's illustrated published work seemed to tell two parallel stories. One was established through administrative documents or Maclure's chirpy prose and the other through illustrations. Edward Boyle making the effort to interact with a child at a school for the disabled who was seated on the floor studiously ignoring him and focusing on their painting instead provided a photo opportunity for the MP (Figure 21). In Maclure's published books such illustrations are memorable but not deemed to be of interest to unpick with words. This appears to have been the norm for many publications focusing on educational history 1944–1965. In Newsom's publications there was more overt play with visual contrasts, presenting the past educational habits of interiors and exteriors as a disappointment when contrasted with what contemporaries were seeking (Figure 22).

I was conscious that for the period considered in this study, that photography was used in increasingly sophisticated ways but sketching carried on irrespective of photography. Records created by contemporaries as pencil drawings continued to be

¹¹⁸ For discussion on drawing used to explore a film editor's intentions see L. Hoare 'Dons not Clowns: Isaiah Berlin challenges Cawston's edit of the educator', *History of Education*, 46, 2017, 1.

chosen by magazine editors to reflect the mood of an era or produced to record a moment where cameras were not present. Some example of drawings that stood out for me while I was in the process of researching my PhD were the sketch entitled 'Listeners, National Gallery' (1943), published in *The Listener* (Figure 23) and an untitled undated sketch which I found in a box of Overseas Arabic scripts at BBC WAC. This drawing was actually drawn on the reverse side of one of the scripts (Figure 24). Both drawings showed people deep in thought. In the first drawing they were silent and in the second they were speaking either recorded, or unrecorded for broadcast. The surviving sources will never be able to tell us. The haphazard survival of sketches both published and unpublished reminded me of the necessity for humility. There are usually explanations and lost evidence that remain untracked by the historian.

In the process of writing up this PhD I included the 97 figures at the back of the study rather than as illustrations interspersed throughout the written text. I had reservations about presenting the visual references this way but decided that the figures can be looked at in sequence and can tell their own account independently of the thousands of words than precede them. I encourage readers to look at these images and develop their own sense of visual rhetoric from the process of looking rather than seeing them as illustrations that play second fiddle to the written words. It is only by reflecting on the selected and edited pictures that the reader can begin to give visual literacy space as something more than a buttress to the written word. The choice of images is again a very personal aspect of research. Many but not all of the images show representations of secondary education as seen on television but also portraits of key figures in this study are included, individuals I read and thought about, but except in the cases of Marion Knight and Peter Newsam, did not meet. Relevant illustrations from *The Listener* and other promotional publications are also included in my attempt to tell a picture story of the period under consideration. This is my own visual edit, not animated, but stills on paper. To some readers it might be useful and others irrelevant depending on what sources a reader is drawn to ponder over.

David Reynolds described how he has no conscious memory of thinking visually in archives throughout most of his career as a historian and that it was only after being involved in extensive television programme making, persuaded by a former student working in that field, that he found himself going back into archives and now actively looks for quotes that he can visualize or words which might evoke images to be

shared with a future audience. He now recognizes that history can be ‘desiccated and dry’ when the visuals are squeezed out and in his ongoing learning has enjoyed recognizing that ‘what you see in your minds eye’ is not only for the benefit of what might be perceived as a less learned public.¹¹⁹ Perhaps many of us actually think in impressions and notice and register an understanding of our research before we put it into words. Words might actually be a dilution of what is leading us on in our research but they are the common means of communication by which academia is grounded, so their position is never really threatened. In the canvas tent of academia, written footnotes are the tent pegs on which authority is built, but they do not necessarily tell the whole story.

Notebooks and letters have long been regarded as a space where drawing and writing coexist while a contributor makes observations and links those records with their own thoughts. Taussig’s fieldwork travel notebooks feature drawing, watercolour and newspaper cuttings and he describes the process of drawing as: ‘a depicting, a hauling, an unraveling, and being impelled toward something or somebody.’¹²⁰ Ingold has written on the way lines are used in different forms of making: ‘copying is a form of meditation that can slowly ... assuredly lead to deep understanding. It involves the practitioner’s entire being: the hand that writes or plays the work, the mind that dwells on it’s meaning, and the memory that fixes it ... copying *is* thinking.’¹²¹

Steedman describes her own experience of transcription when copying out the words of her subject Joseph Woolley:

‘I copied out, in my own writing, [his] words, slowing my reading to the pace at which he had put them on the page. Transcription makes you read very thoroughly indeed for spaces and absences, the intended ironies, the literary allusions, the jokes. You discard your earlier presumptions and assumptions.’¹²²

¹¹⁹ David Reynolds on the contribution of radio and television to a ‘Public History’ Panel. NYCTC4, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 3 July 2017. NYCTC, a New York / Cambridge Training Collaboration for postgraduates, organized by Peter Mandler, Susan Pedersen, Guy Ortolano. Lottie Hoare participated in workshops from 2014–2017.

¹²⁰ See M. Taussig *I swear I Saw This: Drawings in Fieldwork Notebooks, Namely My Own* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

¹²¹ See T. Ingold *The Life of Lines* (London: Routledge 2015).

¹²² C. Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class: work, self and sociability in the early nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6.

I intended to make some transcriptions of stills from moving images with the same journey in mind that Steedman describes when transcribing written language. You could skim read a diary in an archive and get the gist of what interested the author. Similarly you can watch a documentary film and get a fleeting impression of what the film director/editor sought to convey. If you slow images or text down sufficiently to transcribe them you reflect more about the context of their creation and possibly confront other ways of seeing: ‘Loosened from a traditional narrative, or an obsession with fact, the viewers’ responses to the images are both ahistorical and interwoven with historical questions’¹²³

Grosvenor draws attention to the conditions and production of photographic material as it moves from context to context. He argues we need to develop sophisticated tools such as paleographers acquire when working on ancient texts. Grosvenor also suggests that we take photographic images as a starting point and imagine the space in which the individuals were present to better understand spaces and their embedded values.¹²⁴ This is particularly useful with stills from documentary film because rather than being further swept into the ‘fictions’ we then remember the presence of the cameraman and crew and the environment beyond the frame. My own particular interest was also in revisiting the intentions of film editors, what reactions they were hoping to create when they arranged material in particular sequences. This also happens when editing the spoken word, but you can’t draw your way into liminal spaces, between spliced together sound, the way that you can with film. Drawing is useful for understanding or interpreting the transitional moments in editing.

My motivation for drawing archives was also triggered by remembering a passage from the sociologist Stanley’s work on the different ways we perceive the British suffragette Emily Davison’s intentions in the 1913 film footage of her apparent suicide. When watched at the usual fast pace in keeping with the technology of 1913 the moving images appear to show an act of personal sacrifice: Davison throwing herself under the king’s racehorse. When slowed down so frames can be contemplated, it can be argued that we watch an attempt to place the suffragette’s flag or scarf on the King’s horse’s mantle, a protest gesture where she expected to survive

¹²³ K. Rousmaniere, ‘Questioning the Visual in the history of education’, *History of Education*, 2001, 30:2, 111.

¹²⁴ Discussed by I. Dussel, ‘The Visual turn in the History of Education: Four Comments for Historiographical Discussion’ in Popkewitz, *Rethinking*, 36–37.

the risk.¹²⁵ Stanley argued the case for another interpretation of Davison's motives in 1992, decades before high tech film analysis supported her argument. In 2013 this interpretation became popular news because technology was now considered advanced enough for this argument to be supported by evidence. Both the human mind and technological advance reached the same conclusion in this instance. In science drawing is traditionally granted far more respect as an investigative process than it is in the humanities. The art critic and painter, John Berger, has written for over half a century on drawing as a form of discovery. In *Bento's Sketchbook*, Berger imagines how Spinoza might have used drawing as an externalization of thought and discusses the use of drawing to pause time and slow down the stages by which we experience the world. He also pinpoints how drawing makes the human mind pursue and convey what it is hard to track down and how it subtracts and dismantles and should not only be seen as a form of adding.

The dismantling is often overlooked as part of the process because of a focus on results. Drawing makes solid objects that cannot otherwise be hoarded. In recent years there has been an increased interest in arts methodologies but sometimes the focus is on collecting data, preserving visual records of a time and place. For me drawing had more to do with the process of thinking. Even juxtaposing images to make a PowerPoint is part of my thinking but this is not necessarily communicated to onlookers other than as an array of pretty pictures; however hard I try to use the images to ask questions of the accompanying words the onlooker can reject the images and focus only on the written words. The more I slowed down film and drew what I saw the more I had a window on the editor's intentions. A tension remained as to whether images really contribute to a discipline or whether they are offering interpretations or data to researchers within that discipline to use in a non-visual way, to literally write up the visual. For example the work of urban sketcher, Lynne Chapman, at University of Manchester, involved working with sociologists to see how sketching contributed to research. There was a distinct tension in this work between the artist and the sociologists who at times felt uncomfortable being observed by the artist. Andy Balmer acknowledged that sociologists expect to be the observers not the observed and he took photos of the artist as a form of revenge. Overall this project sought to justify that 'concentrated seeing' through drawing would bring new

¹²⁵ L. Stanley, *The Autobiographical I: the theory and practice of feminist autobiography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1992), 23.

insights to academic research.¹²⁶

I do not understand drawing to be a tool in academic research in the twenty first century. It is not a transferable skill, which everyone can be trained in for the benefit of enhanced research practice. Lawn and Grosvenor described the pencil as ‘a basic tool of schooling’ but this is in discussion of Stevens’ research on the development of early industrialization in the United States and the way in which the ‘grammar of the machine’ and technical literacy expanded in the nineteenth century.¹²⁷ In the present digital age drawing by hand has perhaps become more of a celebrated talent or therapeutic activity than a regular discipline. Using software that can decipher or produce visual evidence provides the tools for our age. Making graphs representing data is often considered a dependable form of measurement when drawing is considered a subjective impression. Drawing a machine by hand is no longer a skill which general education puts great store by. My approach fuses the artist and the historian into one person. I am unpicking man-made products such as film and using drawing to see into them more deeply. I am trying to escape both value judgements about drawing being ‘beautiful’ and my anger that the visual has to be separated out as ‘other’. Art doesn’t have to be exoticised as a magical process used by those who have the power to command its processes. It can be simply a way of noticing things. If we recognize that we reflect and then find words to communicate that thinking to others and that the original thoughts may in some way be diluted by being put into words, then we can also accept drawing as part of thinking and the harassment that Berger describes as part of the struggle to notice evidence in a multitude of forms. One of the important things about drawing is to look again at your finished work and realize that you did not notice enough when you made those marks.

As a researcher, evidence can never be totally under my control whatever template I might devise for holding the evidence temporarily in place. Drawing is a way of tussling with the evidence. I don’t mean tussling in the sense of a destructive fight but as a way of confronting all sorts of uneasy contradictions and unexpected

¹²⁶ Lynne Chapman, artist in residence, Morgan Centre for Research Into Everyday Lives, 10/15 to 7/16. Chapman worked with staff to explore similarities between sketching and qualitative research. The ‘Sketching Research’ project was funded by The Leverhulme Trust 2015–2016. For further discussion see <http://projects.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/sketching-research> for Andy Balmer’s reflections and John Elmes ‘Perfecting the art of thinking? Try sketching out your ideas.’ *Times Higher Education*, 29/3/17. Andy Balmer researches technology, science and everyday life.

¹²⁷ M. Lawn and I. Grosvenor’s ‘Introduction’ to *Materialities of Schooling: design, technology, objects, routines* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005), 11.

details within the space of a single frame of film. Uncovering these complexities helps a researcher avoid being easily satisfied by a neat, smooth argument. Vaughan (2016) suggests artists can encourage archivists to ask different questions and think differently.¹²⁸ While developing research methods I wondered if I could encourage academics to think differently about drawing as a research practice. I sensed from the responses to my experiments with drawing in research that there was something in the process of artistic method that was inherently distrusted. This is not to assume a defensive position but because words are the currency of professional academic practice and therefore visual explorations are expected to metamorphose into written language and for the written language to be the part of the process which is most readily accessible to academic scrutiny. Even PhD studies that are submitted in the form of cartoons are scrutinized more for their speech bubbles than for their aesthetic juxtapositions. Architecture and music are understood to have a relationship to maths and therefore sit comfortably enough within academic conventions. These disciplines bring measured calculations not impressions. Drawing meanwhile is sometimes perceived as a way of smudging together estimates in pencil.

Vaughan's reflections on artists' experiences in archives was concerned with the ways in which artists and archivists can share knowledge. She observed that artists can demonstrate 'both a creative ambivalence towards, and an informed critique of notions of authenticity and authority.'¹²⁹ In the process of drawing from paused frames of film there could be a danger of my adding creative details to suit an argument I want to develop in my written work and I fought against that. Quoting Hall, Vaughan suggested artists can bring '*an interruption* in a settled field'. Vaughan also asked 'whether current practices of cataloguing facilitate the kind of subjective and non linear approaches that creative practitioners may take to the archive'. Vaughan's concern was around how artists draw something of public interest from archives rather than recognizing artistic practice as something valid within academic research.¹³⁰ I have tried to embark on drawing out material for academic interest but this is only incidentally made explicit in the study as a whole. Drawing as an act is ultimately understood as a kind of note taking and one of many methods a historian

¹²⁸ S. Vaughan 'Reflecting on practice: artists' experiences in the archives' in *Engaging with Records and Archives: Histories and Theories*, F. Foscarini, H. MacNeil, B. Mark and G. Oliver, (eds.) (London: Facet Publishing, 2016), 212.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 212.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 226, 229.

might use to draw out the patterns and interactions of the past in order to build an argument. Drawing acts as a visual persuader, images in the Figures section act as buttresses to words throughout the study, but the argument constructed will remain invisible in academia if it is not presented in words or some other recognized notation. Nonetheless, I hope the reader enjoys the Figures in the Reference section and enjoys within that section some moments of surprise substitution in the absence of available photographic sources. A footnote at this point would disrupt possible surprise.

Chapter 1

‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944-1952

Now at any moment in England we are expecting two things – the invasion of Europe and a new Education Bill – strange bedfellows perhaps but nearly every educational advance in England has followed the shake up of war ... we have in front of us the grim picture of Nazi education which has stamped a whole generation with a wicked and false outlook on life. Is it any wonder that England is stirred, not only to fight but to think? When the people start thinking they look to their education and their religion and they ask awkward questions, they try to find out the weak spots in their armour. Now that is the real reason why there is so much talk about Education.

Kenneth Lindsay, *Calling the West Indies*, Red Network, North American Transmission, 8.7.43.

Introduction

This chapter considers the evidence of non-fiction BBC programmes representing LEA secondary education between 1944 and 1952. The content of the programmes focussed mainly on historic experiences of secondary schooling or on future hopes for what the 1944 Act may provide. Little attention was paid to actual contemporary LEA secondary schools. The process of making these programmes is shown to have been an active collaboration between a small number of BBC staff and a large number of freelance contributors, many who were members of the ASG. The role of the ASG in this collaboration depended on friendship groups within the ASG who were lobbying to have their voices heard, not on any consensus reached within the group itself. The BBC staff held ultimate editorial power and in these years increasingly favoured the ASG members who were ardent supporters of the grammar school. In devising the programmes there was a sense that the socially responsible broadcaster would encourage the public to be ultimately grateful for the secondary education that their democratic country was able to provide.

The chapter uses 75 BBC broadcasts as evidence. Most of these are full-length programmes but a few of the examples considered form a section of a programme with a magazine format. For instance, ‘Woman’s Hour’ beginning in 1946, sometimes featured sections on secondary education within a programme which also considered

various other topics.¹³¹ Of all the programmes considered for this eight-year period, 27 were transmitted on Home (including Regional Home Services), 23 on Overseas, 13 on Light, 8 on Third, 3 on BBC TV and 1 on General Forces. Of the 75 programmes considered here only 6 were reproduced in *The Listener*. This chapter is distinct from the two that follow and address the subsequent years up to 1965 in that there was a considerable amount of coverage of secondary education on BBC radio during World War Two and during the period of the existence of the Ministry of Information (1939-1946), but almost all of it was broadcast to an Overseas audience and much of that broadcast was in foreign languages and the scripts were not consistently archived. Almost 30 percent of the programmes considered in this chapter for 1944–1952 were made for and broadcast to an Overseas audience. In the second chapter (1953–1959) the percentage slips to just under 20 percent and in the third chapter (1960–1965) it stands at zero. This can be explained by diminishing Foreign Office investment in Overseas broadcasting over time. As Gillespie and Webb argue, Overseas was considered an important tool for promoting the UK and its foreign policy objectives in the mid Twentieth Century but this role was reduced by the mid-1950s, after the Suez crisis.¹³² Ian Jacob's role from 1947–1951 as Director of Overseas also seems to have sustained an interest in Overseas broadcasting that covered secondary education but after his departure from that role the topic rallied for a few years and then diminished in Overseas schedules. Unlike the subsequent two chapters, the subheadings for Chapter 1 are chosen to show the strands of discussion where the ASG dominated both in Overseas and domestic programmes, during a period where types of schools, or curriculum choices, were rarely discussed overtly in BBC broadcast.

1944 has been taken as the start date for this study because it is the year of the 1944 Education Act. The quote from Lindsay opening this chapter predates the period under consideration by a few months but is important in that it spells out that during World War Two the experience of educating young people was seen as a means to prevent rearing citizens who would succumb to the demands of dictatorial leadership. Lindsay's remarks here also echo the writings of the classicist and advocate of adult education, Richard Winn Livingstone, during World War Two. In *Education for a*

¹³¹ Full details of programmes dating from 1944–1952 discussed in this chapter can be found in Appendix 1.

¹³² See note 4, pages 2–3.

World Adrift (1943) Livingstone had observed that Hitler's aim to 'promote mutual understanding between the different classes, and thus strengthen the spirit of national solidarity among the whole people' must be understood as something that the English had to take on, in their own way, through a democratic rather than a totalitarian approach to government.¹³³ Lindsay himself later described how as a result of this sense of mission: 'After the war there were beautifully illustrated volumes of wonderful new developments and reorganization plans involving thousands of millions of pounds of expenditure ... the dilemma of the vision and the reality were a constant theme.'¹³⁴ This quote also sets the tone of much of the Overseas broadcast in this period, broadcasting that is more reflective and frank in its consideration of motives than domestic broadcasts tended to be.

Some suggestions that did not ultimately make it into the recommendations of the 1944 Act were introduced to the radio audience during the war. For example, the coalition Education Minister who gave his name to the Act, R A Butler, speaking about the 1943 White Paper, told listeners to a Home Forces programme in July 1943, and to Overseas North American in August 1943, that decisions about the type of school to which a child was sent would not be made 'by a snap exam but as the result of school records and discussions with the parents.'¹³⁵ The 1944 Act and Tripartite System in practice depended on the 11 plus exam as a method for separating children into different schools, in most regions. Further to these broadcasts, Butler caused indignation amongst BBC governors by broadcasting what he was about to introduce to parliament on the 1944 Act at a time of coalition government where there was a danger of ministers 'using the BBC to provide propaganda for pet schemes of their own.'¹³⁶

The period 1944–1952, presents archival BBC script material with limited discursive opportunities for individuals, with opposing views, to confront each other on BBC radio. A monologue based on an uncontested script set the pattern for most Overseas broadcasts discussing education. Those responsible for talking to an

¹³³ R. Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 158. Livingstone (1880–1960), was a classicist and Vice Chancellor of Oxford University 1944–1947. He broadcast rarely but contributed to BBC Overseas programmes.

¹³⁴ ASG/1/16, Unpublished recollections of Kenneth Lindsay circa 1981: Newsam Archives Ioe/ULC.

¹³⁵ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T65 BUS-BYE.

¹³⁶ Leonard Miall (1914–2005), Fragment of a transcript from BBC Oral history DVD recording of *BBC History Leonard Miall*, Scene 5, Take 1 page 19 (Private Collection). Miall worked at the BBC from 1939–1974 and subsequently researched BBC history and conducted Oral History interviews.

audience in England and Wales also often adopted the monologue format. Broadcasters spoke as if they imagined their audience could be cajoled by rallying a sense of reassurance. However, by the late 1940s more frustrations and doubts were beginning to punctuate broadcasts. Sometimes ‘conversation’ between participants was artificially constructed and edited. Other ‘conversations’ really did form broadcasts when speakers met in the studio and responded to each other’s views. By the late 1940s programmes began to be broadcast that juxtapose a range of voices, sometimes voices which were present all together in person in the studio but re-edited to fit with the timing allowed for scheduled programmes. In almost all instances the voice of the ordinary parent was interpreted by actors or spoken by individuals who may have been actual parents but who had clear connections with the broadcasting industry.

Those working in the BBC self-consciously reflected on these changes concerning the making of non-fiction discussion programmes. Hajkowski observed that William Haley, (1901–1987) BBC Director General from 1944–1952 was determined to keep American programmes to a minimum and sought to keep Britishness as ‘appealing and alluring as American cultural products’. Hajkowski sees Haley embracing Empire and a ‘spirit of striving’ as key British themes and argues that while during World War Two broadcasts had communicated tolerance and co-operation towards the Empire, in the post-war years the Empire was revived as part of the traditional British identity in the face of Americanisation.¹³⁷ Certainly the surviving scripts for the years 1944–1952 suggest that Overseas broadcasts were much more interested in bolstering strong colonial and post-colonial relationships based on offering relatively frank discussion of secondary education rather than letting ‘the man in the street’ speak on air about his own experiences. After all he might have let slip some opinions distinct from the BBC’s vision of neutrality. Writing in the *BBC Quarterly* on ‘The Place of Broadcasting’, Haley observed: ‘the climate of public opinion changes with the years. It is possible to do in broadcasting today things that were not possible ten or fifteen years ago. That is, perhaps, one of the results of public education.’¹³⁸

Despite this ebullient narrative that the BBC was adapting to engage with the educated needs of the public, others working in broadcasting during World War Two

¹³⁷ T. Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain 1922–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 184–188.

¹³⁸ W. Haley, ‘The Place of Broadcasting’ *BBC Quarterly*, (London: BBC) Vol. II, 4; Jan 1948, 196.

and the immediate postwar years, such as the radio broadcaster George Ivan Smith who later worked for the United Nations, recognized self-interest on the part of the broadcasters. Smith observed that although some saw the need to: ‘inject into broadcasting the structure of education by discussion, not to impose any one point of view’ he doubted that the actual interest in giving a voice to the people was present: ‘it wasn’t as noble as that ... I don’t think I had such nobility in terms of giving expressions to other people so much as expressing the ideas. I really wanted to know myself what young people were thinking and doing in other countries.’¹³⁹ As historians we have to be careful not to project back those later preoccupations about the voice of the people in broadcasting when the underlying current can be more accurately read as the broadcasters taking impressions of the mood of the country and re-interpreting them to satisfy their own editorial needs and perhaps, at times, to satisfy their own creative agenda. They wanted to express ideas as Smith suggested, but they were also working under the confines of an organization that arguably reined in too much experiment.

The Listener publication provided a printed magazine version of the scripts of certain BBC talks broadcast within the United Kingdom, scripts which were re-edited for publication and present a similar but not verbatim record of what was spoken on air. The vast majority of broadcast scripts never appeared in any adapted form, in print in *The Listener*. Archival material showing how *The Listener* was compiled and edited was not available from the BBC for this study. The editorial format of *The Listener* was essentially focused on publishing short essays. Consequently *The Listener* privileged and adapted the monologue broadcasts by individual commentators, adjusting them slightly to be read in prose form. *The Listener* had experienced a four-year hiatus from publication from 1942 to 1946 and the 1941 edition had included some references to the perils of Victorian Education in England with its overcrowded classrooms (Figure 29). This illustration accompanied an article by Walter D Wright pleading that education should be enjoyable. Wright, a Staffordshire school master, had been researching school logbooks to create this programme and had already broadcast before World War Two on the subject of ‘What

¹³⁹ MS. Eng. c. 6457, papers concerning Smith's broadcasting career, 1945–54, 1989; Papers of George Ivan Smith (1915–1995), Bodleian Libraries Special Collections, Oxford.

Children Say.’¹⁴⁰ In the years where *The Listener* was not being printed the transmission of programmes considering education was widespread but no published paper record captured this aspect of the war effort as far as the representation of secondary education was concerned.¹⁴¹

For 1944–1952 *The Listener* predominantly chose monologue Third broadcasts on topics other than secondary education. When education was discussed at all in *The Listener* in this period it was often in terms of analyzing German reconstruction and the re-educating of former Nazi communities. In an overview of *The Listener* coverage 1947 is one year that stands out as offering more coverage of secondary education, with articles by W O Lester Smith, Newsom and Noel William Baring Pemberton.¹⁴² Lester Smith, who appears to have believed he could tell parents what to think, was featured in *The Listener* with ‘Factors in Modern Education’ which was a version of his broadcast ‘Modern Trends in Education’. Pemberton tackled the theme of ‘Cobbett versus the Ministry of Education’. A review of a Denys Thompson book on the importance of the teacher gets a brief reference in 1948. In 1949 there was a brief reference to deteriorating education in grammar schools in the letters pages. Overall, developments distinct from what was happening in actual schools appear to have interested the editors. Maud on UNESCO and ‘fundamental education’ (Figure 30) or articles with an emphasis on American education and family life or Anglo-American relations are given far more space in *The Listener* over the eight-year period under consideration. There is also space given to outright criticism on United States schooling and the American understanding of adolescence with articles by Olive Shapley and Alistair Cooke. The illustrated adverts in *The Listener* give small clues as to the way learning was presented as a subject of parental concern but these link more clearly to themes of education beyond schooling – what you might learn from listening to the radio or viewing ‘suitable’ films at the cinema (Figure 31). 1950 saw the publication of an article by Christopher Hollis in defence of a classical education and an article by Kurt Hahn on Gordonstoun, both articles where the emphasis is on the traditions of fee-paying Independent schools, as was Kenneth

¹⁴⁰ *The Listener*, (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1929–1959) 10 July 1941, page 57.

¹⁴¹ This was the case with secondary education, however university education as discussed on air was recorded by some wartime publications for instance: *Higher Education: a series of ten talks broadcast in the Overseas service of the BBC* (London: issued by the Ministry of Information on behalf of the Colonial Office, 1944).

¹⁴² Noel William Baring Pemberton (1897–1965) was a historian who published *William Cobbett* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949).

Barnes' article.¹⁴³ Mysticism and education was covered in a contribution from V H Mottram; and a programme on Ruskin and Victorian educational developments was the focus for E Salter Davies.¹⁴⁴ All three of these aforementioned programmes were subsequently adapted as *The Listener* articles while Series turning the lens on LEA provision such as 'Teachers in the Witness Box', made in 1946, never featured in *The Listener*. The articles with links to secondary education in this publication most often focused on looking back at what once had been, or sideways at what an unusual minority might experience. Placing the lens firmly on contemporary ordinary experience was not an editorial concern for *The Listener* editors although it was beginning to be of interest to some BBC programme makers. Education itself was certainly a recurrent subject matter for BBC radio but there was not yet any broadcast scrutiny of what was happening in the secondary school classrooms or what pupils or parents thought of the unfolding of the 1944 Act.

This chapter is the only one covering dates where the BBC has a consistent monopoly on broadcasting. From 1947 the Labour politician Philip Inman was Chair of Board of Governors, followed in the same year by Ernest Simon who held the post until 1952. Simon had previously stood as a Liberal MP for Manchester but in 1946 joined the Labour party. The Beveridge Report on Broadcasting (1949–1951) took place when Simon was Chairman of the Governors. Lord Woolton, the then Conservative Party chairman, emphasized the importance of The Beveridge Report in order to keep a check on the operation of the BBC.¹⁴⁵ Speaking in parliament Woolton warned:

¹⁴³ *The Listener* Jan–June 1946, July–Dec 1948 & July–Dec 1950. Christopher Hollis (1902–1977) Conservative MP who taught at Stonyhurst College. Kurt Hahn (1886–1974) founded Gordonstoun. Kenneth Barnes (1903–1998) head of science at Bedales during the 1930s and later founded the co-educational boarding school Wennington in Wetherby, Yorkshire. Barnes was committed to egalitarian education, published books on sex education and broadcast on the BBC from 1948. He featured in Richard Cawston's BBC documentary 'The Schools' (1962). None of these three men were spokespeople for mainstream LEA educational provision, only for the independent schools in which they worked.

¹⁴⁴ Vernon Henry Mottram (1882–) was a scientist and university lecturer. E Salter Davis (1872–1955) former Director of Education for Kent (1918–1938), chair of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust and editor of the *Journal of Education* (1939–1955). He was a founder ASG member but had no active involvement in BBC programmes concerned with LEA secondary schools postwar.

¹⁴⁵ Frederick Marquis, 1st Earl of Woolton (1883–1964). English businessman and Conservative Party chairman 1946–1955. Educated at Manchester Grammar and the University of Manchester. See also T. O'Malley 'Television, the Labour Movement and the New Left in the 1950s' in S. Nichols, T. O'Malley, J. Medhurst (eds.) *Broadcasting in the UK and US in the 1950s: Historical Perspectives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

‘Nothing more tangible might happen than that a Chairman of deep political conviction might tend to favour those people of like mind, so that the political orthodoxy of the Corporation might take its tone from the Chairman. There, I believe, is a real danger. The Chairman might, either from an excess of political impartiality, or because of his personal sympathies, allow Communist influence to get a hold in the place ... giving a slant to programmes in such a subtle manner that it might be difficult for those in control of the administration of the BBC to be both wise and patently just in dealing with the staff involved. I raise this issue, because I personally am convinced that we are in some danger of hiding our heads in the sand regarding the danger of Communist infiltration into our public and our educational services—and there is no educational service in which it could be so dangerous as that of the Broadcasting Corporation.’¹⁴⁶

These words are drawn on to emphasize the degree of suspicion that the Conservative party felt towards the BBC postwar and its potential to inspire left-leaning sympathies. When Churchill was back in the role of Prime Minister in 1952 he appointed Cadogan as Chair of the Board of Governors in place of Simon. Cadogan had been most recently the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, which had exacerbated his anti-Soviet outlook. He also had suspicions of the BBC dating back to 1939 when he wanted Ogilvie sacked as Director General of the BBC. More recently, in 1944, he grumbled that it was ‘supererogation’ for the BBC to broadcast ‘Russian Point of View’ when the Russians wouldn’t broadcast ours.¹⁴⁷

Two key BBC staff members who had an impact on the representation of secondary education in radio broadcast in the years 1944–1952 were Roger Armfelt and Jean Rowntree, neither of whom are figures that have made much appearance in published research by broadcasting historians so far. Armfelt had served in the Royal

¹⁴⁶ HANSARD 1803–2005. Lord Woolton. Lords Sitting, 25 July 1951. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1951/jul/25/the-british-broadcasting-corporation#S5LV0172P0_19510725_HOL_62 Ernest Simon was the father of Brian Simon and husband of Shena Simon. Ernest Simon (1879–1960) industrialist and politician. He was given the title Baron Simon of Wythenshawe by the Labour Government in 1947.

¹⁴⁷ A. Cadogan and D. Dilks (Ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan 1938–1945* (London: Cassell, 1971), 220, 363, 601. Cadogan (1884–1968) thought that reflecting different viewpoints from other nations created more work for the BBC than duty required.

Garrison Artillery in World War One; had been educated at Cranleigh School and after World War One, at Kings College, Cambridge.¹⁴⁸ He was CEO for Devon during the 1930s, taking responsibility for the welfare of evacuees in Devon from 1939. As previously mentioned, Armfelt (Figure 32) was a founder member of the ASG. He was employed by the BBC throughout the 1940s and was the only ASG member in this position. He was appointed on the recommendation of Director General Ogilvie, another founder ASG member who left the BBC seven years before Armfelt. Armfelt's initial recruitment by the BBC in 1941 came on the basis of his involvement with BBC Listening Groups and a recommendation that he had '... guts, intelligence, listening experience, tact, experience of working with government.'¹⁴⁹ He was first approached by the BBC in the hope he would work as Director of a parallel organization to Bletchley Park, based at Evesham, where BBC Monitoring for government was being pioneered. Armfelt turned down this opportunity citing his preference for working as part of a wider community and argued that as he had been shortlisted for the CEO job given to Graham Savage at the London County Council, this showed his skill at working for a community. By 1942 Armfelt had become Assistant Controller of the Home Division at the BBC and until 1949 was the Secretary of the BBC Schools Broadcasting Council. He understood himself to be 'the normal point of contact of the BBC ... with the Ministry of Education.'¹⁵⁰ What is particularly significant about Armfelt as a go-between for the ASG and BBC is that Director of Staffing at the BBC, W. St. J Pym authorised Armfelt to claim travel expenses to ASG meetings from the BBC, showing that the BBC was not in any way in the dark about ASG activities.¹⁵¹

Armfelt believed 'a well designed educational system is a pre-requisite of the better world after the war.'¹⁵² By 1943 he was advocating Savage amongst others as a speaker on education and corresponded with Savage in 1944 to identify different headteachers and their views on secondary education and selective schools. He was

¹⁴⁸ Armed Forces Service Records, WO 339/86702, National Archives, Kew.

¹⁴⁹ For further discussion on Listening Groups see D. Goodman 'A Transnational History of Radio Listening Groups II: Canada, Australia and the World' in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2016. For background details on Armfelt see BBC WAC, Left staff file for Roger Noel Armfelt, L21/3/1 including a handwritten note dated 'Tuesday pm' 'DSA' to 'Martha'.

¹⁵⁰ BBC WAC, L21/3/1, Armfelt to Controller of Talks, 11.9.45.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., including Pym to Armfelt, 6.5.46.

¹⁵² R51/130/3 Talks, Education, File 2A: 1942, RNA/RAB 14.10.42.

still voicing confidence in Savage as a broadcaster in 1948 and praising Dent also.¹⁵³ His interest was by his own admission the state system, ‘my natural tendency to discuss the schools I know’, as he reflected back in his published writing. He was also ready to find fault with grammar schools and promote secondary moderns or comprehensives, possibly to encourage a wider popular acceptance of the 1944 Act but also because he had reservations about revering tradition for the sake of it and sympathies for a child-centred approach that brought out the ‘special values’ of young people in their adolescent years and recognized young people as belonging to their own bodies not ‘disembodied minds’.¹⁵⁴ His Memorial Service address was later to emphasize his lack of faith in psychological and social sciences. Armfelt spent much of the war years and postwar period pushing ASG members as suitable BBC broadcasters or consultants even when he recognized their shortcomings. Of Lindsay he wrote to the Director of Talks about plans for future coverage of educational matters:

‘His reputation in the educational world does not stand very high. He is said to never complete a job or a thought. This does not alter the fact that he is intelligent and has done a great deal of scouting round. He is also I am sure, sincere in his motives. I think he should be borne in mind at least as a consultant when the time comes.’¹⁵⁵

Armfelt was not however a consistently loyal supporter of Newsom. He complained to BBC staff of Newsom’s tendency to ‘obtrude himself’ and to take ownership of ideas which may have originated from Dartington rather than Hertfordshire when it came to media coverage.¹⁵⁶ Despite a ‘Left Staff file’ showing that Armfelt served the BBC with ‘distinction’ and that he had the role of Assistant Controller to Home during World War Two, he does not even have an entry in the index of Briggs official histories of the BBC. Armfelt left the BBC for a role as Professor of Education at the University of Leeds in 1949. BBC WAC does not allow papers of a confidential

¹⁵³ R51/130/7 Talks, Education, File 4: 1943–1946, November 1944; R51/130/8 Talks, Education, Files 5&6: 1947–1954, Armfelt to Miss Gordon Smith, 12.10.48.

¹⁵⁴ R. N. Armfelt, *Education: new hopes and old habits* (London: Cohen & West, 1949), 91.

¹⁵⁵ BBC WAC R51/130/3 Talks, Education. File 2A, 1942, Armfelt to DT 3.6.42.

¹⁵⁶ BBC WAC R51/130/8 Talks, Files 5&6 1947–1954, Armfelt to ACT 2.6.49. Armfelt’s connection with the PEP and Leonard Elmhirst suggests he did not want educational experiments associated with Dartington Hall to be overlooked. See footnote 82.

nature on Armfelt to be seen by researchers. Visible papers refer to his ‘disappearance’ which is perhaps a somewhat wry remark in terms of suggesting he had left the BBC at an inconvenient time. He died in December 1955, according to his Times obituary ‘at home in his sleep’.¹⁵⁷ A Memorial Service address from two weeks later, unauthored, refers to the ‘mystery’ of his death, which ‘perplexes’ and ‘disturbs’.¹⁵⁸

Rowntree’s impact on the BBC representation of secondary education began like Armfelt’s during 1941, but her employment continued through until the mid 1960s. She was educated at Somerville College Oxford and, although not a member of the ASG, she knew Frederick Ogilvie when he was the Director General during World War Two. She was considered acceptable to the BBC as a Quaker who was not a pacifist: ‘if she were a man she would be a combatant.’¹⁵⁹ She was actively involved in humanitarian work during World War Two.¹⁶⁰ Postwar she appears from archival evidence to have been a very strong supporter of the grammar school. She wished that the BBC audience ‘got hold of ideas more’.¹⁶¹ Her job titles were various and sometimes included the wording ‘Further Education’ but she was actively involved with advising the representation of secondary education at the BBC irrespective of job title. By 1950, when Armfelt had left his role as her ‘intermediary chief’, she was actively distancing the BBC from excessive involvement from ASG members who were not in favour of grammar schools – preventing them calling the shots in BBC programmes that discussed secondary education. When Devon and grammar school teachers were expressing dismay that programmes such as ‘Younger Generation’ and ‘Teachers in the Witness Box’ were ‘disparaging’ and ‘unbalanced’ on the subject of grammar schooling, Rowntree concluded it was better for the BBC to select speakers with consultation.¹⁶² However, as the ASG gathered new members in the 1950s such as Fisher who were also staunch supporters of the grammar school, Rowntree was happy for such ASG figures to steer broadcast discussion, presumably because she

¹⁵⁷ *Times* Obituary for R N Armfelt 5 December 1955.

¹⁵⁸ BBC WAC, Left staff file for Jean Rowntree L1/1269/1: Letter from Controller to Talks AOT 30.6.50 and Left staff file for Roger Noel Armfelt, L21/3/1: unauthored Memorial Service address 19.12.55.

¹⁵⁹ BBC WAC, Personal File on Jean Wilhelma Rowntree, L1/1269/1: Interview at Bedford College on the recommendation of Olive Willis, Downe House, 12.5.41. Jean Rowntree was the granddaughter of Joseph Rowntree, Quaker social reformer and philanthropist.

¹⁶⁰ Rowntree, Jean Wilhelma, Oral History, 15.2.95, Imperial War Museum, Catalogue number: 14989. Worked for Society of Friends and Czechoslovakia Committee in Prague and London 1938-1939.

¹⁶¹ BBC WAC R51/130/6 Talks, Education, File 3. March–Dec 1943, Memo, 7.4.43.

¹⁶² BBC WAC R51/130/8 Talks, Education, Files 5&6 1947–1954, Minutes of a meeting 15.11.50.

felt an alignment with Fisher's outlook. An anonymous memo filed amongst her letters, although not necessarily her own choice of wording, read: 'I don't like the implied doctrine that children must not be stretched ... [in time] the present revolution in the status of the technical and manual worker will become an accepted social fact.'¹⁶³ In short, she shared an assumption Lester Smith held, that in time grammar schools would be accepted because the 'revolution of ideas' would bring public acceptance of other less professional employment pathways.

Consequences of the 1944 Act as Heard by a Domestic Audience

Comprehensive schools received very little coverage on the BBC in the years 1944–1952 but in the actual month of the 1944 Act Trevor Lovett, the headmaster of one of the first comprehensives located in Anglesey, could be heard on Home promoting 'The War Effort of a Welsh Secondary School'. Lovett referred to the 'false educational economy' that had existed prior to 1939 but now suggested that schools like his were going to offer a technical education that had not been experienced in England and Wales before. This approach began in 1940 with Lovett's school co-operating with a large component factory. The pupils learned about tool making within the factory. Lovett spoke of the pupils' awareness of the conscious effort they are making for the war effort. He praised how the skills that could be developed from this activity became 'absorbed' into the real working world. He spoke of his comprehensive as a 'large school family' helping develop future citizens. He was convinced that the comprehensive school was the best solution for secondary schooling:

'Recent suggestions that youth should be offered a grammar, technical or modern education, are excellent. But if the youth are to be separated into three different schools, then that loss of contact of various types in the religious, social and athletic spheres is, from my experience, going to offset many of the advantages the suggestions would bring. Let the three proposed schools be three departments of one school, and the pupils would then secure far better coordinated instruction in the careers of their choice, and that

¹⁶³ Ibid., Memo dated 2.8.51.

within a school society which would be nearer to that Civic society in which they finally face life.’¹⁶⁴

Lovett concluded with a reminder that without technical training in secondary education and cooperation with industry, unemployment will be rife in Wales: collaborations that ‘sprung into being’ in wartime must not be neglected. This was Lovett’s last ever BBC broadcast, despite further requests from BBC Wales that his views were heard by audiences in the next two decades. His lack of further opportunities to speak on air may not have been to do with his championing of comprehensive education but perhaps to do with his interest in technical schooling, which became the least developed promise of the 1944 Act.

‘The Education Bill’ from ‘Getting Things Done: A Series of broadcasts on Making Democracy Work’, was broadcast on Home with commentary by Maurice Webb in 1944. Webb was at this point a journalist and was later elected as a Labour MP in July 1945. The broadcast consisted of theatrical conversations between fictional community participants from Victorian times onwards, discussing their doubts about formal education. These scripted dialogues were voiced by actors, not by members of the public with educational concerns. The narrative concerned ill-informed well-meaning members of the public being persuaded by those in the know that Education Acts bring progress. In between the dialogues there is commentary by Webb emphasizing the importance of public opinion in democratic law making. Opposition to the 1870 Foster Act is discussed at length with characters such as a fictional Joe announcing: ‘And they have the nerve to call this a free country ... we stint and sweat to feed our kids – and just when they’re beginning to bring home a copper or two, OHH AY’M SORRY, but the schoolmaster is waiting’. However, by the 1918 Fisher Act, the same voice of Joe has acknowledged this education is ‘a bit of alright’ but he is still concerned that learning your trade is not overlooked regarding employment prospects: ‘There’s good scholars standing on the corner of the street trying to scrounge a fag.’ Far more space is given within this programme to previous education acts than to the 1944 Butler Act. After recognizing public concern over the cost of education as a burden for the public purse the programme fast-forwards to the 1944 Act. The listeners were then told that Butler succeeded ‘where

¹⁶⁴ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T304 Lor – Low.

the others had failed' and this is explained not just because of cross party support but because of an effort: 'to take public opinion along the road of agreement ... It took its authors on long journeys all over the land. Journeys in search of the opinions of the people ... it was the Aunt Sally stage if you like.'¹⁶⁵

How exactly the consultation for the 1944 Act took place and why it could be likened to a fairground game touring England while people threw objects at it is not clarified in the space of the programme. The work of the McNair Committee, the Fleming Committee and the Norwood Committee were recognized in the programme but not through any explanation of what their work consisted of but because, according to the speaker: 'Such committees have the merit of associating the public, of which they are influential members, with the task before the Minister ... and to add the weight of their prestige to whatever decisions are arrived at.' The concluding pages of the script for this programme continued to insist that the 1944 Act represented the will of the people: 'This Act will not work unless we want it to work, and we must make it work.' The audience was reminded that they elect parliament and cannot distance themselves from parliament's decisions. The programme concluded with a recommendation that if you are too busy to read recent educational reports in your local library, or the Act itself, then you should read the summary in 'an excellent pamphlet by a man called Dent.'¹⁶⁶

1945 witnessed the broadcast of only a very occasional programme focusing on secondary education. In the immediate aftermath of Victory, plans were made for the retiring civil servant Sydney Herbert Wood to act as consultant for Schools Broadcasting for a broadcast from a series of talks for sixth forms, 'Our Way of Government'. Butler had credited Wood, during the drafting of the 1944 Act, with having 'kept us on the progressive path.'¹⁶⁷ Wood was consultant for the episode: 'How major changes in National Policy are carried out by Local Authorities – Illustrated through the work of an Education Committee'. In his letters to H M Duncan, Wood was cautiously concerned about what kind of material would be

¹⁶⁵ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T633 Wea-Web.

¹⁶⁶ Dent was Editor of *Times Education Supplement* 1940–1950 and a founder member of the ASG. The pamphlet referred to here is. H. C. Dent *The New Education Bill; what it contains, what it means and why it should be supported* (Bickley: University of London Press, 1944).

¹⁶⁷ During the 1930s S. H. Wood had served as principal private secretary to three presidents of the Board of Education and was a key figure in the drafting of the 1944 Act. He also initiated and chaired German Educational Reconstruction plans 1942–1952.

suitable for a sixth form listener.¹⁶⁸ In October 1945 Home broadcast ‘The Friday Discussion: Equal Opportunity in Education’ discussing comprehensive secondary education with S. R. Gibson, Headmaster of Beck School; E. W. Lockwood, Headmaster of William Ellis School, then a grammar school; Shena Simon, the campaigner for comprehensive education; and J. T. Allerdice, Headmaster of a Scottish multilateral school, Forfar Academy.¹⁶⁹ This programme was unusual in that it brought the majority of voices to the panel in favour of comprehensives and because it invited a headmaster of a Scottish multilateral, or comprehensive school as Forfar was later referred to, to discuss alongside English headteachers and a campaigner. Most of the nationally broadcast Home programmes in the period 1944–1952 excluded the Scottish perspective. Most other programmes where any educational subject matter was considered at all during 1945 were Forces Broadcasts, on Light which did not tackle secondary education specifically.

Other radio broadcasts on the subject of secondary education, which appeared on Home in the autumn of 1946, included the Series ‘Teachers in the Witness Box’ devised by Harry Ross, Acting Talks Department staff who had recently worked with Rée and Richmond Postgate in Forces broadcasting.¹⁷⁰ This Series marked the first attempt by Home to look repeatedly at the subject of secondary education in a series of programmes and to give those programmes titles that implied there may be some reason to doubt the structure of the provision available. However that doubt was presented as a Platonic dialogue and ultimately the message was one of reassurance.¹⁷¹ The Series included ‘Must Education Divide us?’ ‘Is the Grammar School Enough?’, ‘Can you be taught what to think?’, ‘Is Education too Bookish?’, ‘What should be taught and why?’ and ‘Secondary Education for All’. The then CEO for Dorset, Longland, played a significant part in these programmes. The surviving correspondence on the making of the Series, shows that very particular guidance was given by the BBC, in terms of how secondary education was presented. Longland was informed that they had already chosen the parent who appeared in four of the Series

¹⁶⁸ BBC WAC RCont: S H Wood, Talks File 1938–1950, Wood to Duncan, July 1945.

¹⁶⁹ Gibson had been recommended as a speaker in favour of comprehensives in Armfelt’s letter R51/130/7 Talks, Education, File 4: 1943–1946, November 1944.

¹⁷⁰ A. Briggs *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Vol. IV, Sound & Vision* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 739.

¹⁷¹ This wording is used to echo an interest in Platonic dialogue and broadcasting amongst BBC staff in the late 1940s. Mary Somerville mentioned her interest in Platonic dialogue in correspondence and memos and Herbert Read broadcast a series of programmes on ‘The Dialogues of Plato’ on Third between February and October 1948. See page 90 for further details.

episodes.¹⁷² Although the Talks Producers did not name ‘the parent’ in their correspondence with Longland the archived scripts do name him as ‘Barry Bucknell’.

Bucknell (Figure 33) was not a concerned parent who had written to his MPs or other public figures voicing his mistrust of the 1944 Act, although the programmes implicitly presented him this way and he is referred to in broadcasters’ correspondence as ‘a typical ordinary man, with intelligence, a good radio voice and wide interests’. Bucknell’s involvement came about through his acquaintance with the actor and director Commander Anthony Kimmins who suggested he wrote direct to Harman Grisewood suggesting a programme series on holidays.¹⁷³ Grisewood had been Assistant Controller of the European Overseas broadcasts 1941–1945 so, although he was now back working with domestic transmission, he had authority and influence within the BBC. No doubt Grisewood, who had the role of Director of Talks Division during 1946, received numerous unsolicited letters with programme ideas that were not taken up, but Bucknell’s involvement in broadcasting was quick to flourish. Bucknell was a St Pancras builder and Labour Party supporter. He had been educated at William Ellis School in Camden in the 1920s, a school founded by the economist and social scientist William Ellis in the nineteenth century. Bucknell became a conscientious objector during World War Two. Although he appeared as ‘the parent’ anonymously in some episodes, such as ‘Is Education too bookish?’ where he conversed with City of London School masters, and although Longland did not address him by name, he is named by the announcer at the end of some of the episodes. His name is not, however, given in any *Radio Times* listings for this programme.

On air, Bucknell voiced concern over his own schooling, which took place in the 1920s: ‘they tried to educate me without any reference to the modern world around me. In fact they educated me as if I was my own grandfather.’ His own school, although most audience members would not be aware of this and it was not named, was at the point in time that he was talking a selective grammar school though it had been fee paying for those without scholarships when he had attended in the 1920s. In conversation with Longland, Bucknell emphasized the need for schools to educate young people about the outside world so that they don’t opt for ‘dull jobs’ but get

¹⁷² BBC WAC, RCont: Jack Longland, Talks 1:1935-1952, WRD through ADT, Luker, 11.10.46.

¹⁷³ BBC WAC, RCont: 1, Barry Bucknell, Talks File 1:1946-62, Ross to Clow, 16.11.46, & Bucknell to Grisewood, 19.1.46.

involved with 'local organizations, Borough Councils and even National Politics.'¹⁷⁴ Bucknell was himself strongly involved with housing and building committees and his voice was edited by Ross to emphasize his role as another advocate for the responsible democratic citizen who does not simply delegate government to the elite but gets involved himself at the grass roots community level. At times Bucknell sounded as if he was voicing his independent reflections but his concerns always fit neatly into the frame of argument, as voiced by Lindsay, that democracy will form part of a stable society if everyone accepts and protects the 1944 Act and acts as a democratic interested citizen. As Ross explained to Bucknell about the making of the programme, as this was Bucknell's first experience of broadcasting: The speakers discuss and the conversation is taken down verbatim; Ross then cut that verbatim script to the 20 minutes required. The script was then circulated with the speakers if they wish to rephrase 'of course there will not be much time for that'.¹⁷⁵

Ultimately Bucknell did not offer any unsettling challenge to Longland. In one broadcast he started out performing the voice of doubt about the raising of the school leaving age and the cost for families but by the end of the subsequent episode he had become quite docile and announced that if all Longland describes, in terms of the well equipped provision of the Tripartite system can be put in place then when it comes to his own children: 'I don't think I shall mind very much which type of secondary school they get.'¹⁷⁶ In a curious postscript to the making of this series, Longland pushed for a 'second thoughts' final episode in the series to be made in reply to the queries and criticisms that listeners and discussion groups made. However, neither Armfelt nor Harman Grisewood thought that any further action on the matter was needed.¹⁷⁷

1947, the year that the school leaving age was raised to 15, was a significant year for discussion of secondary education on air although overall the output was still relatively slim. However the national coverage was now beginning to mirror the level of discussion that had been put across to Overseas listeners for at least the previous four years. The Third had only been launched as a radio station in the September of 1946, so seven months into its existence it was for the first time giving lengthy coverage to an analysis of mass educational provision. In a letter to W O Lester Smith

¹⁷⁴ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T303 Lon-Lor.

¹⁷⁵ BBC WAC, RCont1: Barry Bucknell, Talks File 1:1946-62, Ross to Bucknell, 24.10.46.

¹⁷⁶ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T303 Lon-Lor.

¹⁷⁷ BBC WAC, RCont: Jack Longland, Talks 1:1935-1952, Longland to Ross 29.11.46.

from George Steedman at the Home Talks Department, the Third's commitment to discussing the dangers of education is voiced: 'as sheer quantitative expansion ... we may be losing sight of valuable qualitative ingredients'. Steedman goes on to emphasize leadership and character in the democratic state and the relationship between fortifying these qualities through our educational beliefs and traditions.¹⁷⁸ Lester Smith assured him in his reply that he shared these sympathies.¹⁷⁹ Lester Smith's actual broadcast opened with a recognition that America's education system is under fire in their press and, while 'Nothing like that has happened here so far', he quoted Trevelyan's concern that the English education system had not taught people to be discriminating. Smith commented: 'it is difficult to deny the importance in these revolutionary days of a highly educated elite, but on the other hand the many are the well-springs of our national character. If you crowd them into large classes and ill-conditioned schools you are justly punished if the result is a vast population able to read but unable to discriminate.' The implication was present, though not directly voiced in this text, that the Americans were not as discriminating as the English.¹⁸⁰

Pemberton's 'Cobbett Versus The Ministry of Education' on Third criticized the early nineteenth century English farmer and Liberal MP William Cobbett, for romanticizing the rustic elements of child labour. It was pointed out that in an industrialized nation this can leave the door open to the exploitation of child workers in urban settings: 'For after all the spinner or collier who packed his child off to the mill or mine was like the Sussex reaper, in a way, educating him to his own calling'. Pemberton suggested that Cobbett would have resisted the raising of the school leaving age but welcomed the work of the Ministry of Food in 1947 ensuring ample nourishment for children even though he would have objected to the bureaucracy involved. In conclusion, Pemberton insisted that England would not have become what she is had Cobbett's reservations about education been listened to a hundred years previously but the article ends with a twist. We may have better plumbing and swifter transport but what about the ruin of agrarian England? Isn't material success a poor recompense for that? And what about happiness and spiritual well being? We are

¹⁷⁸ BBC WAC, RCont: W O Lester Smith Talks 1: 1938-1962. Steedman to Smith, 5.3.47.

¹⁷⁹ BBC WAC, RCont: W O Lester Smith Talks 1: 1938-1962. Smith to Steedman, 11.3.47.

¹⁸⁰ *The Listener*, 1 May 1947, page 653.

advised to remember that some may openly sympathize with Cobbett rather than the Ministry of Education.¹⁸¹

However, Pemberton's article was unusual when set against the general upbeat tone on the coverage of secondary education in 1947. The Minister for Education, George Tomlinson, broadcast on the raising of the school leaving age on Home with a speech that, superficially at least, assumed the support of all parents in the raising of the school leaving age: 'Let the children see that you think it is worthwhile ... Enter into partnership with the Teachers to make learning a joy ... the true purpose of education is the development of character ...' However, Tomlinson did relate the story of one London pupil who asked why she should stay at school beyond 14 when the Education Minister himself left school at 12. His response was that all children have been 'handicapped' by the war and 'we cannot afford to send our young people into the battle of life untrained and ill equipped.'¹⁸²

The Listener presented a photographically illustrated article not on education itself but on school architecture. The text resonated with optimism in what would have been the summer holiday weeks before the return to school the following September.¹⁸³ The chance to use the photos in print was linked to a recently broadcast News Talk Item by former BBC war reporter, Audrey Russell (Figure 34), which emphasized the speed at which this school and others like them could be built. They depended on a steel framework construction system. The photographs show interior classrooms filled with busy teenagers and the exterior building of the co-educational Bourne secondary school in Ruislip, on the outskirts of London. The accompanying text gave further details on the Bourne secondary school's science laboratories, domestic science rooms, laundry room, sewing rooms and assembly hall equipped for the showing of films (Figure 35). This appears to have been *The Listener*'s first illustration of a contemporary secondary classroom postwar.

Keeping an Ear and Eye on Classrooms in the USSR and USA

Harry Rée was in some sense the exception to the BBC pattern of chosen speakers in that he expressed more optimism about the USSR experience, and in turn was

¹⁸¹ *The Listener*, 12 June 1947, page 907. See also page 66 and note 142.

¹⁸² BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T604, Todd-Ton

¹⁸³ *The Listener*, 7 August 1947, page 211.

regarded with some mistrust by the BBC.¹⁸⁴ In 1946 Rée covered schools and Pioneer youth clubs in Russia with reminders that the state provision for education received extensive financial investment rather than spacious housing. As well as the 56 new schools Rée saw being built in Stalingrad:

‘I have often heard of admirable parents stinting themselves to get their children educated [in England]. I have never before seen a whole community doing the same thing, and that is typical of the whole of Russia – they attach extreme importance to education ... [Pioneer Houses] ... super-youth Clubs ... they are often the former houses of pre-revolutionary millionaires and there is obviously a special almost educational satisfaction in handing over these once exclusive dining hall and reception rooms to crowds of happy, diligent children.’¹⁸⁵

Rée’s thoughts made it into the pages of *The Listener*, as did Don Dallas’s in 1950. A former Reuters Correspondent in Moscow, and later an author for Longmans describing his Soviet experience, Dallas had a brief period of BBC broadcasting involvement in the 1950s. His broadcast and subsequent article on Soviet education was printed in *The Listener* with two striking photos, one elongated and distorted in its presentation as an image taken with a wide-angled lens, it conveys a slightly menacing atmosphere in a Soviet classroom with children looking towards a teacher with rigid obedience. There is a sense of tension around surveillance as the image is stretched out to suggest there is no private space. The second smaller image shows a well-resourced space but again the pupils are obediently attending to the instructions of an adult (Figure 36). Dallas’s text emphasizes that the only clear similarity between Soviet schools and English schools is the smell of cleaning fluid. Otherwise the omnipresence of statues and preoccupation with discipline belongs to another ‘world’. Dallas’s text was revealing of some of the tensions around coverage of Soviet schooling during the Cold War era. The domestic audience might have been assumed to be re-assuring themselves that they did not have to have their young educated under a dictatorship, and yet there is a faint hint of envy possibly conveyed, that the

¹⁸⁴ See page 12, note 16.

¹⁸⁵ *The Listener*, 18.4.46, ‘What I Saw in Russia’, Captain Harry Rée, 501–502. Rée also broadcast anonymously on the BBC during World War Two, discussing the responsibilities of Special Operations Executive.

Soviet regimes might be providing more order than the progressive democratic missions of the West.

Ronald Gould, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, broadcast on Home in 1951 discussing his trip to the USSR: 'A British Teacher Looks at Soviet Russia'. Much of the programme reflected his disappointment with the quality of what he found outside the schools: 'Never have I seen worse roads ... some of the worse housing conditions I have ever seen ... tremendous overcrowding.' When it came to the schools themselves he queries the generous staffing and quipped on the subject of cleaners: 'Perhaps they are paid less than in Britain.'¹⁸⁶ Echoing Newsom's 1948 publication on the education of girls, Gould also expressed alarm that the girls were not taught cookery or housewifery. There is little description from Gould of classrooms and pedagogy in the USSR, but many digs at uniformity and reminders: 'I prefer the flexibility and infinite variety of the British system.' Gould also questioned the Soviet attachment to the British Quaker author John Bellers and says that the words they attribute to Bellers are really from Epistle to the Thessalonians: 'If any would not work, neither should he eat.'¹⁸⁷ The programme was not particularly well received within the BBC. Controller of Talks Division at the BBC from 1950, Mary Somerville (Figure 37) wrote to her colleagues indignant that Gould wasted time on airplanes and passport control in his script. She regretted that the script had not been built by group discussion with Talks and Schools Broadcasting Staff: 'so that their questions might bring out more vivid detail – his report is colourless – we have been starving the public of a vicarious experience of a visit to Russia'.¹⁸⁸ Somerville's exasperation echoed Isa Benzie's (Figure 38) frustrations in her correspondence with Lester Smith in 1949. BBC programme makers were increasingly wanting to move on from the expert monologue to, as Benzie explained: 'a cooperative enterprise of a sort which I know to be unusual and in itself believe to be an interesting experiment.'¹⁸⁹ Child Psychiatrist Hilda Lewis's 'Children in Russia' on Home in 1952 described her visits to homes and schools in the USSR, based on a visit that took place in 1931. This broadcast did not make it into the pages of *The Listener*. An interest was expressed that something might be learnt from these variant models but the default position was

¹⁸⁶ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T186, Goo–Gra.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.,

¹⁸⁸ BBC WAC RCont: Reginald Gould, Talks 1:1948-1962, Memo: Somerville to Bonarjee, 18.5.51.

¹⁸⁹ See page 93 for further discussion of Benzie's hopes.

usually concerned with suggesting a greater sympathy for our own English experience than anything that related to foreign experience.

Programmes on schooling in the USA did not crop up in broadcast schedules with the same regularity as the USSR during the immediate postwar decade, although there were regular occasions on which the American experience of family and childhood was discussed with a certain tone of doubt. One transmission on Home in October 1952 made comparisons between adult education and international exchange programmes but there was not the interest in American schooling that existed in BBC broadcast before World War Two. In 1951 James, who had made only occasional broadcasts on the BBC at that point, made a television appearance in the Series ‘Speaking Personally’. Here James made time to echo his previously published words on the dangers of comprehensive education with some additional flourishes. In this instance he was presenting his fears in a visual medium:

‘You know sometimes after I have been reading the works of prominent educationalists, particularly American educationalists, I wake up with a horrid vision, and it’s this. Of a vast comprehensive school, and in one classroom – well it won’t be called a classroom because that’s reactionary – in some activity centre or whatever you like, is a class of children who are doing creative activity with coloured beads, and in another class a group of children, the school council, children of all ages are electing the new headmaster. And in the third there’s a group doing social orientation whatever that is, with audiovisual aids. And in a corner, will be point three five, point three five of a child alone, despised, rejected, the statistical intake if you like, with an I Q – an intelligence quotient of over a hundred and fifty. And that child will be reading Aeschylus, or doing a differential calculus. Despised, rejected and almost exactly trisected.’¹⁹⁰

These spoken words tied a mistrust of activity methods directly to America in the audience’s mind when other broadcasters were exploring progressive educational practice distinct from American experience. James’s choice of wording, drawing on Isaiah and Handel’s Messiah, is again impassioned in the sense that it is asking the

¹⁹⁰ BBC WAC, Microfilm Television Script, Film No.25, TV Registry Talks Scripts (1951–1958).

audience to see the frustrated intellectual child as literally crucified by progressive practice. As an atheist this word play would presumably not have jarred on his conscience. In a pencil sketch used to accompany another *The Listener* article based on James's radio broadcasts the mood is somber and serious (Figure 39) as young male figures pay attention at school to their written tasks. The violence of James's spoken word television broadcast is not graphically depicted in illustrated form on the printed page.

In the Third did turn its attention directly to American schools with 'Impressions of American Education' from Richard Livingstone who shared James's view that for popular taste to prevail was 'absolutely monstrous' even if this was the century of 'the common man'.¹⁹¹ Livingstone begins his programme quizzically, insisting that 'the quality of radio, TV, films, advertisements or popular literature reveal the public's mind' and on this front he is not impressed with what the Americans have achieved given that they have a higher school leaving age. He suggests that the emphasis in education has been on the social side and that the curriculum has catered mainly for those of average intelligence. Livingstone reports: 'when I asked why the abler children should not be allowed to outdistance the weaker ones I was told this would lead to tensions, which would make the school ineffective as an instrument of social education.' The underlying message of the programme is that adopting a comprehensive schooling model in England would be a mistake as it only suits America as a nation which seeks to integrate immigrants and develop their social democratic identity. He quotes Shakespeare's Polonius advising against impatient change: 'Take each man's censure but reserve their judgment.' He recommends to the audience that the Tripartite system offers England education for 'different gifts and different types of ability.'¹⁹²

Overseas Service Scrutinizing Educational Provision

While the Domestic audience was being asked to celebrate the Act as part of its democratic tradition in these years, the Overseas audience was being asked to consider the variety of forms that secondary education could take in practice with speakers often from the ASG. Birley (Figure 40) found himself rather cornered in the late 1940s when he was worried that comments he made about Public School

¹⁹¹ Ibid.,

¹⁹² BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T299 Liv-Loc.

endowments destined to be broadcast to an Overseas audience may in fact be picked up by members of Headmasters' conference in England. Radio producer, J A Camacho, wrote in a letter to Birley: 'I should however add that it is possible for some people in England to overhear our Overseas Services. Any such "eavesdroppers" as it were would be well aware that the programme they are listening to is not intended for them ...' ¹⁹³ This remark provides a fascinating insight into contemporary BBC assumptions that audiences should feel a certain sense of shame if they listened to programmes not designated for them.

Dent appeared rarely in BBC radio programmes discussing secondary education in this period, although his published work was recommended by other broadcasters. However, in 1945 he did present 'Child Education in Britain' on BBC Overseas Hindustani. What is striking in this Overseas broadcast is that the level of detail is far more precise in its analysis of how the 1944 Act can be interpreted in practice than any contemporary broadcast to a UK-based audience. Dent emphasizes that 'a policy of secondary education for all' heralds 'one of the greatest educational experiments England has ever undertaken.' He makes it clear that this is a 'leap in the dark' and then discusses what it means to provide the secondary education which will 'aid each child to build an individual super-structure on the common foundation [of primary school]'. He explains the distinctions between grammar and Modern schools but also hints that the form these schools take has regional variety: 'It would be wrong to suppose they will necessarily remain separate and apart. Different types may be combined in one building or on one site'. London's experiments with multilateral education were then discussed and the LCC view that 'only in a common school could a sense of social unity be developed among children.' The programme concluded with a reassurance that there is little 'danger of uniformity' in secondary education, distinctive patterns would take shape we are told: 'but the time is not yet. Meanwhile, we embark on this great adventure of universal secondary education determined to discover that unity in the whole, which can only come about through variety of the parts'. ¹⁹⁴ Dent's programme echoed a document produced for BBC circulation by Armfelt in November 1944, which discusses how the Ministry of Education will react to multilateral school ideas in London and West Riding. It is

¹⁹³ BBC WAC, RCont: Robert Birley File 1949–1959. Camacho to Birley, 4.10.49. The Headmaster's Conference began in 1869, the initiative of Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham. Wolfenden, Birley and James all chaired this organization 1946–1958.

¹⁹⁴ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T113 De-la-Der.

suggested that it will be acceptable as experiment because the Ministry wants technical and grammar schools to be built under the same roof. Armfelt's document also lists names of those for and against multilateral schools so that programme makers know who to ask when trying to present a range of opinion.¹⁹⁵

The tendency for the Overseas broadcasts to provide more in-depth scrutiny as to what was actually being provided is manifest in many Overseas scripts. In 1946 Frank Dash, who was introduced as a teacher in a London grammar school, broadcast 'The Beginning of a New Era in British Education' on North American. He filled in the historical background of education in England for the North American listener who he suspected may only have heard of Eton and Harrow. He hinted at the ways in which the class structure has historically undermined any equality of opportunity in England with a directness not heard in domestic broadcasts in this period. He also mentioned the raising of the school leaving age, which was scheduled for the following year. Dash went on to relate how some of his own grammar school pupils move at 13 to be full boarders at a local Independent school in an arrangement with the county authorities and emphasized that they are 'not to be daunted by problems of assimilation.' He then quoted the Fleming Report and the need to provide access to Independent schools irrespective of wealth. He ended with a quote which, given that the audience was North American, was potentially a loaded remark about the strength of democracy relative to Communism. Dash attributed the quote as having been recently voiced in the House of Commons, 'do not in the sacred name of equality forget quality.'¹⁹⁶

In 1946 ASG member Kenneth Norman Bell was involved with two Pacific BBC Broadcasts on secondary education. Both were part of an 'Experiments in Education' Series which echoed Dent's early broadcast sentiments on Hindustani, about seeing secondary education as a healthy form of experiment. In 'Where we are at', and 'Impington Village College', Bell explored education's role as a bridge builder between home and school and the need for a school to be an accessible part of the community. It was proposed that education existed to stimulate a 'nationwide taste for quality and a popular standard of values untainted by ignorance and vulgarity.' His discussion of vulgarity was edited out in places to suggest that the emphasis was not

¹⁹⁵ BBC WAC, R51/130/7 Talks, Education, File 4: 1943–1946, November 1944. In this document Miss Catich, headmistress of Putney County High, is identified as against comprehensives. Miles was appointed to replace her in the early 1950s and transform the school into a comprehensive.

¹⁹⁶ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T107, Dar–Dav.

applicable across the classes in the way that Bell himself seems to have envisaged. He wanted to talk about ‘Vulgar bigotry and intolerance ... snobbery, the callous selfishness of the privileged ... the smug cocksureness of the expert.’ All these remarks were crossed out by an unsigned, anonymous BBC editor, leaving the emphasis on an education that draws out ‘the extraordinary things that the ordinary man and woman are capable of.’¹⁹⁷ Overseas might have allowed more frankness about the Education Act but it wasn’t ready to attack privilege. In his second Pacific broadcast, specifically on Impington Village College, Bell interviewed John Parr the Warden of this village college and together they discuss in detail the resources the College has available and the uses to which they are put for the community. Yet again this discussion is provided for an Overseas audience. No parallel domestic broadcast from the BBC gives so much detail on the running of a secondary school in any one region, presumably because the BBC were concerned that playing up the imbalances of regional provision would provoke discontent in local communities. Impington Village College did not get a programme to itself on any domestic Service until Morris retired in 1955 and the education discussed could be considered as retrospective rather than current.¹⁹⁸

In the final months of 1946 the Minister of Education, Ellen Wilkinson, broadcast twice on the subject of ‘The New Learning’ but in neither instance were her broadcasts presented to a National audience. First on the North of England regional Home she presented her talk and then later in 1946 a version of the talk was transmitted on the BBC Pacific. Wilkinson described her delight at slipping into a Salford secondary modern classroom where boys were making electric motors and are so interested in their activity they don’t even notice she is there. There was a sense of reassurance in this anecdote that something was being learned here that was vocational rather than fanciful. She talked of the need for ‘education to help us feel at home in the world ... awaken children to the greater responsibilities of personal freedom ... ready to solve the miseries of scarcity and poverty’.¹⁹⁹ Her broadcasts form monologues and include no voice but her own. They can be seen in retrospect as

¹⁹⁷ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T36, Bel–Ben. Kenneth Norman Bell was educated at Balliol; Fellow of All Souls; Director of G. Bell & Sons publishers 1912–1914; worked as supervisor for LCC during the Blitz in East London. Ordained Vicar of Binley, Coventry, 1946.

¹⁹⁸ See Appendix 2.

¹⁹⁹ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T650 Wig–Wilk.

an unintentional concluding statement on her hope for the future of education. She died while in office in February 1947.

S H Wood had been involved with Overseas broadcasts that touched on educational issues since 1939, although it was often the principles of democracy rather than secondary education specifically that had been at the forefront of his coverage. For instance, he had broadcast in 1944 on Eastern about the foundations of freedom in primary school. In 1947, Wood broadcast on Far Eastern, Red Network, a programme called 'English Educational Background'. This programme essentially formed a further advert for the English school system which is not centrally controlled by the state: 'In the first place, the Ministry of Education doesn't own or directly control any schools ... the Ministry doesn't itself employ teachers ... Teachers you see, are not civil servants. Again the Ministry doesn't publish textbooks, and it doesn't censor textbooks...' After a historical survey of the English tradition the programme discusses the 200 million pound budget allotted to education but, unlike the programmes broadcast domestically in 1947, the emphasis is not placed on material and aesthetic considerations as the main factor in educational success: 'the key to effective teaching is not to be found in buildings and equipment, not even in efficient central and local administration ... but in the quality of the teachers who live and work day-by-day in the schools.'²⁰⁰ While school buildings built in England were useful emblems of foreign policy, the key sense of gratitude in Overseas former colonies perhaps needed to be shored up for the human beings that worked locally with or without a new building to applaud. Sandie Lindsay, Master of Balliol College and a founder ASG member, spoke on 'Education in a Democracy' on the Far Eastern English Programme in 1948 portraying Democracy in the West as 'government by discussion in which all take part.' He emphasized the need for democratic education to concern itself with the manner of education rather than the content: 'In a democracy an aim of education will be to make children think for themselves'. He went on to outline how team games help unite different skills for a common purpose and how a role in school societies and other small voluntary associations strengthened democratic community outside the school over time.²⁰¹ By November 1948 Newsom was also broadcasting on Overseas on 'Education as a Social Force'. The emphasis was on teaching the young to resist totalitarian regimes.

²⁰⁰ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio script reel: T663 Wood-Woodr.

²⁰¹ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio script reel: T285 Lil-Lip.

In 1950 H M Burton, who had most recently worked as Deputy CEO for Norfolk, gave a talk on Secondary Education in Britain on European. The purpose of European in this era was to project British ideas and to undermine the Communist system in Eastern Europe through discursive and objective coverage, rather than direct propaganda. Burton's opening paragraph acknowledged that, since the 1944 Act, there had sometimes been 'bitter disagreement' in light of changes. He heralded the 1944 Act as having replaced the Three Rs with the Three As – Age, Ability and Aptitude – with the emphasis on aptitude and explained in detail the different 'types' of child and the different grammar, technical and secondary modern schools to which they will be sent and reiterated the need to recognize 'bitter disagreement' and acknowledged the problem that children with no ability and aptitude will end up in secondary modern schools and that their presence will diminish the public estimation of these schools 'despite the most expensive staffing and equipment'. He recognized that selection exams were unlikely to be able to select the precise longterm strengths of children aged 10 and 11 and that the higher school leaving age in the grammar school was disadvantageous to the other schools because 'people still tend to believe that the more there is of something provided by the State the better it must be!' This is perhaps the most overt Cold War jibe of the whole programme. The different types of job prospects for young people leaving these schools were also discussed in this programme and the link was made as to why people doubt the idea of 'parity of esteem.' A further criticism was that the country simply can't afford the cost of the system – he makes the specific point 'the provision of technical secondary schools is even less satisfactory, but few people seem to worry about that in this country'. By the end of the programme, Burton advocated multilateral or comprehensive schools for rural areas and applauds the lack of intellectual snobbery that will be reduced in areas with these schools but he expressed doubts about their impact in towns. He voiced concern that their size will work against 'the English educational tradition' where a head knows everyone personally. He recognized that these schools can be just as controversial but remarks that the bitterest criticism has not been aroused by these schools but by the academic side of secondary education observing a 'calamitous leveling down.'²⁰²

²⁰² BBC WAC, Microfilm radio script reel: T528, Tak–Tal.

Such programmes appeared to have had a mixed agenda. On one level they offered a frank and analytical account of the difficulties concerning the unfolding of the 1944 Act, significantly more outspoken than anything heard in domestic BBC broadcast in 1950. At the same time they expressed doubts about comprehensive schools as a model to be adopted nationwide. Simultaneously they asked the audience to question State provision, in particular the generous funding of State provision and question whether that investment is worthwhile, as well as flagging up the dangers of educating for uniformity. In summary, these Overseas programmes which were funded by the Foreign Office, voiced a framework of national policy but allowed an Overseas audience a more provocative discussion which did not shun all description of the local perspectives. Such programmes also ultimately brought in tradition as a kind of anchor to the educational ship.

Challenging and Accommodating the Voices of the ASG

Fred Clarke chaired the Central Advisory Council for Education which produced two reports in the late 1940s: *School and Life* (1947) and *Out of School* (1948). Both had a noticeable impact on the interests of BBC broadcasters. As far as the reports touched on secondary education they recommended that new secondary schools were necessary which required extensive investment and that this expenditure would command more support if a widespread interest in education was promoted. Some of the broadcasting that followed these reports can be seen to have built on this advice that a public interest in education was encouraged. Gould, Lester Smith and Wolfenden were then members of the Advisory Council for both the Clarke Reports and also regular BBC broadcasters.²⁰³ There was also a concern voiced in the reports that young people's free time and their educational curriculum should not be too narrow and that a general education be developed that did not stifle individual freedom.

1948 saw limited discussion of contemporary mainstream secondary education on BBC radio, both in national broadcasts and Overseas, but plenty of discussion of education as seen from any other perspective. Longland appeared briefly on

²⁰³ Fred Clarke (1880–1952), was a founder member of the ASG and chair of the Central Advisory Council for these reports. He rarely broadcast on the BBC. One exception was 'The Outlook for Religion' Series, episode 6, 'The Real Task': talk by Fred Clarke, Principal of the London Institute of Education, tx:15.2.44, Home. The Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales were each set up in 1945 to advise ministers on educational theory and practice.

‘Woman’s Hour’ discussing local government and education. Programmes such as ‘A Country Schoolmaster’ broadcast on Home, focused on the experience of County Antrim in Northern Ireland. The emphasis for this programme was on arts education for the primary age group and R. L. Russell of Tullygrawley Public elementary school. There was no explicit focus on secondary education although the very presence of headmaster Russell’s voice gave space to his belief that children risked getting “smothered by the scramble for examination results”²⁰⁴ A debate from the ‘Dialogues of Plato’ discussing education, and arranged as a dialogue by Herbert Read, was broadcast on Third. This latter programme was significant in that ideas drawing from Plato’s Dialogues were used throughout this period as part of the push to encourage democratic citizenship through education and to promote the ideas of education as a development of character. Simultaneously the interest in modeling programmes based on dialogue either real or constructed by the editing of tape, echoes with this revived interest in Plato’s dialogues. Plato was concerned with the early habituation and moral development of the young to encourage the positive development of citizens. Somerville was to express her interest in creating imaginary dialogues as a form of presentation worth exploring. She thought Plato would have knocked the broadcast word for six as he did the written but that imaginary constructed dialogues could be ‘submitted to the action of a formative mind which works upon the impressions, invests them with meaning.’²⁰⁵

1949 saw the attention focused very particularly back onto the unfolding of the 1944 Act and some discussion of teaching within the classroom setting began to slowly emerge. 1949 also marked the first murmurings of prolonged and detailed examination of popular discontent with the provision of the Act. It is significant that any programmes that did venture into acknowledging discontent were constructed under the guidance of either ASG members or those closely involved with the Act such as Wood. Home broadcast a Series called ‘The Next Five Years’ in 1949 which included one episode on education, involving Lester Smith under the title ‘The Next Five Years in Education’. In a letter from Elizabeth Rowley to Lester Smith she spelt out that speakers were to exclude considerations of war in these programmes and to

²⁰⁴ See R L Russell *The Child and His Pencil: Adventures in a County School* (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1935).

²⁰⁵ BBC WAC, R51/130/8 Education Talks Files 5&6 1947–1954, Somerville to Postgate, 26.7.51.

look ahead.²⁰⁶ ‘Can I Help You?’, broadcast on Light in the same year, was scripted and delivered by Wood on the advice of Armfelt. The surviving correspondence between Wood and Talks Editor Archie Gordon, shows the degree of caution that Wood felt as a retired civil servant discussing the 1944 Act on the airwaves. Wood did not want the word ‘selection’ used in the listing of the programme in the *Radio Times*: ‘A harmless word save for its connotations ... [it] suggests to most parents the privileged pupils who are going to be selected for grammar school and this destroys the whole idea of secondary education for every boy and girl.’ Wood also insisted on talking about types of courses rather than types of schools in case he was taken to be making reference to the politics of comprehensives. He voiced a concern that his audience may be cross about the raising of the school leaving age.²⁰⁷

A 1949 episode of ‘Woman’s Hour’ broadcast again offered a new space for public criticism of contemporary education. ‘What our Listeners Think’ included current civil servant in the Ministry of Education, Weaver, and a number of other female contributors. None of the contributors to this programme were named in the *Radio Times* listings. Later the same year, an episode of ‘Woman’s Hour’ sequenced Fred Schonell (1900–1969), discussing with others not secondary education in particular but the importance of teaching children to enjoy their work.²⁰⁸

Subsequently this episode moved on to a secondary school teacher Roland Earl discussing the new examination, the General Certificate of Education, which was replacing the School Certificate. Later in 1949 Weaver was again heard on the airwaves in a programme entitled ‘Now’s Your Chance’ which brought together Newsom and another selection of speakers from Hertfordshire either head teachers or Education Committee members: P T Ireton, P J Osmond and D B Scurfield. They discussed with ‘the public of Stevenage’ who, as the *Radio Times* informed the audience, are after the best schools they can get for their children. The programme was billed as: ‘Last of the series in which the little man, the consumer, gets his chance to question people of power and responsibility about what is right or wrong with the services they supply.’ The wording of ‘the little man’ here is of interest as it identifies the ordinary audience member as a consumer with rights. Weaver was very rarely

²⁰⁶ BBC WAC, RCont: W O Lester Smith Talks 1: 1938-1962, Rowley to Smith.

²⁰⁷ BBC WAC, RCont: S H Wood, Talks 1938–1950, Wood to Gordon, 4.5.49 & 7.5.49.

²⁰⁸ Schonell was an Australian Educationist who held posts at Goldsmiths during the 1930s, the University of Swansea from 1942, University of Birmingham from 1947. He returned to Australia in 1950 and became Vice Chancellor of University of Queensland 1960–1969. By 1959 he is listed on the ASG membership list.

directly involved with BBC broadcasting, and as subsequent programme coverage will show, he was allegedly actively forbidden to broadcast shortly afterwards.²⁰⁹

The Reith Lectures broadcast by Robert Birley in the final months of 1949 gave little direct coverage to secondary education overall, but provided a rare reflection on the limitations on the responsibilities of the English within Europe. Birley made a plea for England to think less of itself in its curriculum and educate its citizens more widely on the subject of European history but most importantly in his view on the subject of European languages. He hoped that English will not become the most widely used European language:

‘No other language is being so contorted or being rendered so ugly by bureaucracy as English. It is a language in which it is very easy to be lazy ... It is quite as absurd to suppose that, without taking the trouble to learn foreign languages, we shall be able to contribute to the cultural unity of Europe.’²¹⁰

Birley’s observations offered a general reflection on the shortcomings of the English and education but perhaps related most to his concerns for the curriculum of Independent schools in this period, a distraction from the contemporary tensions around selection in LEA schools.

A six episode Series entitled ‘The Rising Generation’, was planned by Talks Producers, including Benzie. Lester Smith acted as the paid consultant on all six episodes.²¹¹ Benzie had worked at the BBC since 1927 and had held the role of Director of the Foreign Department during the 1930s. Her father had served in the same army division as Reith so this had been her initial introduction to employment. Murphy describes Benzie as ‘less vocal and demanding’ than some of her female contemporaries.²¹² However, when it came to attempting to broaden coverage of a wider set of public perspectives, this future founder of the ‘Today Programme’ appears relentless, if subtle, in her attempts at persuasion. She was well versed in the friendship networks of broadcasting and adept at challenging the assumptions of

²⁰⁹ See page 100 for further discussion of Weaver’s contributions.

²¹⁰ R. Birley, *Britain in Europe: Reflections on the Development of A European Society. Reith Lecture 3, Problem of a Common Language*, tx: 6.11.49, Home.

²¹¹ BBC WAC RCont: W O Lester Smith Talks 1: 1938–1962.

²¹² K. Murphy, *Behind The Wireless: A History of Early Women at the BBC* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 176, 180.

Lester Smith. 'The Rising Generation' was broadcast on Home, late in the year of 1949. It was the first BBC radio programme to explicitly claim to be based on audience research about responses to education: how should children be taught? scholarship, discipline, what does the Education Act promise? what happens to children out of school and will they get a job when they finish their education?

The correspondence between Benzie and Lester Smith, as they planned the shape of the Series, shows Benzie determined to allow her knowledge of public discontent to steer the programme. She does not confront Lester Smith directly about the growing gulf that was being recognized in broadcasting circles, in short, that expert monologues were not sufficient. Referring to ASG member Schonell's broadcasts on remedial education and other educational concerns broadcast earlier in 1948, Benzie observed: 'I was once advised by Professor Schonell to let an administrator speak and give his views and experiences a large space of time. And so far as I could judge I thought the advice good.' However, she pushes for a new approach and continued to fill her letters to Lester Smith with anecdotes from Parent Teacher Associations and listening groups where urgent public concerns are voiced on education. She emphasized the need to make a programme that includes real life anecdotes that ring true: 'a cooperative enterprise of a sort which I know to be unusual and in itself believe to be an interesting experiment.'²¹³ Lester Smith is polite and supportive but remains largely unmoved by Benzie's enthusiasm and assured her that public opinion would take a certain path: 'preference for grammar school will diminish ... the desire for a black coated job is nothing like it used to be'.²¹⁴ Benzie refused to indulge Lester Smith's wish for an analysis of Bertrand Russell's distinctions between the education of the citizen and the individual, as this would be 'deep' and not appropriate to a programme exploring popular responses to contemporary education.²¹⁵

The voices of the actual public do not make it onto the airwaves for 'The Rising Generation' but their concerns are fed into scripts created by writers Evie Jackson and Antonia Ridge under the guidance of play therapist, Gwen Chesters, from the Tavistock Clinic as well as Lester Smith. One surviving script from the first episode 'How should children be taught?' is significant in that it is the first time since 1944 at least, that BBC Radio offers such a lengthy programme, with a script running to 24

²¹³ BBC WAC RCont: W O Lester Smith, Talks 1: 1938–1962, Benzie to Lester Smith, 2.11.49 and 17.11.49.

²¹⁴ Ibid., Lester Smith to Benzie, 23.11.49.

²¹⁵ Ibid., Benzie to Lester Smith, 9.11.49.

pages, focusing on the subject of pedagogy. The main emphasis is on primary education but the underlying themes apply to all children of compulsory school age. Certain characters in the dialogue are concerned that current educational trends will result in a 'sloppy generation'. There is repeated emphasis on the need of home to match the expectations of school. There is extensive discussion of spontaneity and choice in education and what that means in practice and how children are made to feel safer in school by getting what they need as a practical example of love. It is this discussion of love in the final instance that wins the doubting scripted characters over. 'The Rising Generation' scripts exist as a kind of fictionalizing of fragments of non-fiction, not dissimilar to Thomas Hardy taking his plots from local newspapers, but in this instance the fiction is built from incidental contact with discussion groups as an ear to 'public opinion'. Episode 4 of 'Rising Generation' received particularly positive audience feedback and Postgate described how the sample of parents with whom he listened urgently wanted feedback on how access to grammar school varied in different counties.²¹⁶ BBC broadcasters were increasingly questioning whose voice shaped their output. In 1949 the Controller of Programmes observed of the longstanding ASG member and occasional broadcaster, Kenneth Lindsay: 'we've never invited L. to talk, he's always pressed himself.'²¹⁷

During 1950, BBC radio coverage for a domestic audience included little scrutiny or reflection on the 1944 Act. Light offered plays such as 'The Education of Mr Surrage', a play written in 1913 about the young people trying to educate their elders. Again this was far from being an example of contemporary commentary.²¹⁸ A ventriloquist puppet show known as 'Educating Archie' (Figure 41) also began on Light in June 1950 but here the 'educating' referred to was about social aspirations not schooling. On Third in April 1950, the Independent school headmistress of North London Collegiate, Kitty Anderson, discussed Frances Mary Buss and nineteenth century education for girls. The Third again turned its attention to education with the title 'Classical Education' a talk by the Conservative MP for Devizes and former schoolmaster, Christopher Hollis. Again the audience was being asked to look backwards rather than focus on what was actually happening in classrooms for most people in the here and now.

²¹⁶ BBC WAC, Education Talks R51/130/8: Files 5&6, 1947-1954, Postgate, 16.4.51.

²¹⁷ BBC WAC, RCont: Kenneth Lindsay, File 1 Talks, 1939-1962, Message from CTP, 29.6.49.

²¹⁸ A. Monkhouse, *The Education of Mr Surrage: a Comedy in Four Acts* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson) 1913.

Fictional coverage of secondary education on radio and television is only intermittently referred to in this study as non-fiction representation is the focus. However, there are interludes when its message should be acknowledged because it matched the BBC non-fiction agenda of trying to keep the public satisfied with what they had. As part of a Series of eight programmes about problems of everyday life, the regular BBC broadcaster Jenifer Wayne (Figure 42) wrote and produced a play about the positive adjustment to secondary modern experience broadcast on Light in 1950 with the title ‘No Scholarship for Tom’. Weaver lighted on this example as an ‘admirable piece ... that hit off almost perfectly (in my view) the fair presentation of the problem.’ Wayne’s programme encouraged a positive perspective on secondary moderns without, in Weaver’s view, skating too easily over ‘parents’ genuine anxieties.’²¹⁹ Weaver was not alone in praising this programme. Postgate also drew on samples of audience research to commend the ‘equality of status’ it placed on modern and grammar schools and quoted a ‘toolmaker’ saying they were now convinced that it was better for a child to be bright at the right school rather than dull in the wrong one. Postgate was shocked at how ignorant some of the sample audiences were about the 1944 Act.²²⁰ The long running ‘Top of the Form’ (Figure 43) began broadcast on Light in 1948 and was not a fictional programme but a space for real pupils to be heard on air but not giving opinions, instead showing their knowledge. This programme gave space for the audience to attend to the competitive interactions of different pupils answering questions in a quiz of knowledge and representing their schools from all areas of the United Kingdom, including Scotland. English and Welsh grammar schools dominated the programme. ‘Top of the Form’ provided a space where fast academic minds were asked to perform in public. Such programmes are not scrutinized in depth in this study but their existence should be noted as they appear to have evolved as part of a deliberate initiative to develop the interest of the audience in the importance of education. The other non-discursive presence of the voices of school children in these immediate postwar years came through choirs broadcast on BBC radio. Most, though not all, of these choirs were also drawn from grammar schools. Sound broadcast could show young people striving in music and in

²¹⁹ BBC WAC, R51/130/8, Talks, Files 5&6, 1947–1954, Weaver to Rowntree, 3.8.51. Jenifer Wayne (1917–1982) children’s author and BBC broadcaster.

²²⁰ BBC WAC, Education Talks R51/130/8: Files 5&6, 1947–1954, Postgate, 16.4.51.

the accumulation of knowledge. Progressive and vocational education was, by contrast, not easily made audible in such a clear-cut way.

Celebrations concerning the Festival of Britain in 1951 marked the first postwar broadcast that gave extensive space to women discussing their education amongst themselves without a chair or any other voice of authority. Ade Harrison, Diana Purcell and Sheila Conchie, none of whom were well known figures, discussed their education in an episode of 'Woman's Hour' called 'Educating Eve'. All three women received most, if not all, of their formal education before the 1944 Act so for the purpose of this study the conversation is more historic than topical. The subject matter included: the pros and cons of academic education for women; the guilt women feel when they 'bark' at their family in a quest for their own focus on a task that might earn them a living; qualifications and whether without them women's opportunities are limited and whether educated women threaten men. There was one brief mention of the 1944 Act in the script but it was cut from the actual broadcast. This omission was the moment it was acknowledged: 'that it is a long time before we can see if it is successful, and there are lots of handicaps at the moment'.²²¹ The final paragraph of the script, when programmes like 'Woman's Hour' were praised for their educational influence and for keeping women's brains 'tuned up', is also edited out and the programme ends on a more somber note with the problem of married women finding time for further education. In the same month Eileen Arnot Robertson, Jill Craigie and headmistress Lilian Charlesworth also discussed 'The Education of Girls' on BBC TV.²²²

One example of an early ambitious and technological experiment in the representation of secondary education, on Light, formed part of 'The Heritage of Britain' Series. The specific episode on schools took the title 'The Briton at School' and was narrated by a regular BBC broadcaster, John Usborne.²²³ The BBC staff

²²¹ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: Woman's Hour, Films 17/18, 22.2.51.

²²² Lilian Charlesworth (1897–1970) was a headmistress and pioneer of international understanding. She had worked in county secondary schools as well as Independent schools but from 1939–1959 she was headmistress of Sutton High School, which for the years under consideration in this study was a Direct Grant grammar school for girls. Eileen Arnot Robertson (1903–1961) was a novelist who had disliked her own girls' boarding school education. The documentary filmmaker Jill Craigie (1914–1999) had also been educated in a series of girls' boarding schools. This trio did not have direct experience of LEA education since the 1944 Act.

²²³ John Usborne (1915–1965) read English Balliol, Oxford; a pacifist in the 1930s. Sacked from teaching under surveillance by M15 during World War Two. Walter Oakeshott, an early member of the ASG and headteacher, secured Usborne a job at St Paul's Independent school. Oakeshott broadcast

member Sam Langdon and Philip Brown from Kings College had made discs of recordings with the aim of showing the changing pattern on education.²²⁴ The eventual programme featured numerous unnamed head teachers, housemasters from Westminster, boys and girls from numerous schools both Independent and LEA, a named parent ‘Mr Stanley Thackeray’ and significantly ASG guest, Maud. This was perhaps the first example of editing together for broadcast the voices of a wide range of individuals involved in contemporary secondary education. In the first instance they had not made recordings in a grammar school but subsequently they did and it was the grammar school pupils whose voices made it into the final edit. Whether the return to make further recordings in grammar schools was on the advice of other BBC staff or the initiative of Langdon and Brown, the surviving archival material does not make clear. The programme was devised and produced by Paul Johnstone who was to be involved with BBC television production during the 1950s but at this stage was working in radio. The number of voices, pre-recorded on different occasions and then edited together, was far more wide-ranging in its scale than any other programme considered for the years 1944–1952. Tom Western’s work on BBC audio nationalism in this postwar period considers the limitations of recording technology at this time and how that affected ‘which bits of the nation were shipped to London for preservation and broadcast.’²²⁵ In this instance almost all the schools featured were from London and Hertfordshire with the exception of the inclusion of Bolventor School Cornwall.

Surviving scripts for this programme exist both as teledictaphone recordings of some of the raw material gathered for the programme and the final edited script for transmission. A programme broadcast to mark the Festival of Britain was inevitably upbeat in its message compared to some of the tensions beginning to be voiced in the discussion programmes in preceding years. The broadcast began in Bodmin Moor in a primary school ‘bluff and granite’ but, after a tiny excerpt of young children singing, by the bottom of the first page of the script the audience was already whisked to the Hertfordshire primary school settings and then a Hertfordshire secondary modern quickly followed with the Headmaster of Croxley Green Grammar. Compared with

occasionally on the BBC in the late 1940s but did not discuss education on air. Usborne broadcast regularly on travel, nature and education between 1948–1965. He also spent time living in the USA.

²²⁴ BBC WAC RCont: John P R Maud, File 3, 1949–1962, Lingstrom to Maud, 13.12.50.

²²⁵ T. Western, ‘Securing the aural border: fieldwork and interference in post-war BBC audio nationalism’, *Sound Studies*, 1:1, 2015, 84.

programmes that sought to give voice to ordinary citizens in the later 1950s and 1960s, this final script is actually heavily dominated by the narrator. The teachers were given some space, Mary a pupil from St Albans Grammar is given a few seconds to advocate a broad education before the audience is swept onwards. The only lengthy excerpt from anyone other than an educator or the narrator comes from a parent 'Mr Stanley Thacker' who has been a working gardener but is proud of his children attending Hertford and Ware Grammar school and who speaks with confidence of an England with 'jobs galore ... I always think old England will right itself while the education is building up the people in the way they seem to be doing.'²²⁶ The impression is almost as if education was a kind of health tonic. Apart from its Hertfordshire connections to Newsom, there is little overt presence of the ASG in this programme until Maud steps in to conclude the programme, to add centralized confidence to regional optimism, and encourage the audience to imagine the kinds of conversation which the tape recorder did not capture:

'I hope you got an impression of friendliness between children and teachers from what you heard going on inside the schools. I only wish you could also hear for yourselves how much friendliness there is nowadays between teachers and parents; and between the teachers and the administrators like myself whose job is to 'minister' the schools, and between the local education authority and my own Ministry ... I think if you could have seen the children in this programme, their shining-cheeked eagerness, their cheerful concentration, then I think you'd agree that the Briton at School is a pretty encouraging subject.'²²⁷

Although this is a radio programme, not television, Maud was asking the audience to picture optimism. Here again an individual with ASG associations was drawn into the fray to bolster public morale. Such summings up were not a matter of habit but of deliberately planned interventions. The BBC's Freda Lingstrom wrote to Maud asking

²²⁶ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T332 Mat – Max.

²²⁷ Ibid.,

him to take part with the specific request that he implies that: ‘although at present we are not able to implement fully the recent Education Act our hopes are high.’²²⁸

A broadcast on Third by Benjamin S. Morris, again in 1951, took the form of a monologue rather than a discussion. Morris was at this point one of the chairs of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. He gave a talk *Education and Society* as part of a Series consisting of 12 broadcasts with a sociological emphasis under the title ‘Studies in Social Change’. Morris was listed in *The Radio Times* with the job title Director of the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) where he was soon to take up a post.²²⁹ This programme marked perhaps the most forthright critique of the 1944 Act that the BBC had as yet seen fit to broadcast to a domestic audience and no ASG members were involved in its production. Echoing the tone of H M Burton the year before, who had broadcast on European, Morris voices frustration that phrases like ‘parity of esteem’ only conceal social conflict, they don’t solve it. He is more emphatic than Burton, insisting that the Tripartite system favours the increase of social segregation and he attacks the ‘grossly over simplified psychological theories of development’ on which it is based. He appealed to the audience that his personal opinion is not what is at stake here but that educational research must take place as a social science to try to understand the situation. This appears to be one of the earliest mentions on air of social science and social research as something that directly connects with schooling. He reminded the audience of the need for autonomy sufficient to guarantee freedom of experiment in order for advance in education to take place. He applauded Independent schools as places for pioneering experiment and doubted the contribution of the publicly controlled system. He also recognized that Independent schools should not carry on as a ‘class preserve’ and called for radical thinking about the relations between freedom and responsibility in public service. He expressed doubt about the education of ‘character’ through schooling if it failed to recognize the values of the home and conditions of a neighbourhood and reprimanded educational communities for fearing social research in the way that

²²⁸ BBC WAC RCont: John P R Maud, Talks File 3: 1949-1962, Lingstrom to Maud, 13.12.50. Lingstrom (1893–1989) was a BBC producer. From 1947, she was assistant head of schools broadcasting and from 1951, Director of Children’s Television.

²²⁹ Ben Morris (1910–1990) studied Chemistry and Education, University of Glasgow; taught primary and secondary pupils in Glasgow in the 1930s; worked as senior psychologist involved with officer selection during World War Two. At NFER had responsibility to improve the testing for secondary selection. Appointed chair University of Bristol, Institute of Education, 1956. He believed learning flourished best in group situations. Not a member of ASG.

evolution was once feared and emphasizes that education is not about school subjects but about making people civilized. He was suspicious of intelligence tests as ‘ability only expresses a potentiality’ and believed that the promises of educational advance are impossible without our taking some control over our social destiny and encouraging a more emotionally adjusted and cooperative population.²³⁰

Possibly as a response to Morris’s broadcast, as the summer of 1951 progressed, there was significant correspondence between Postgate, Rowntree and Armfelt discussing how mistrust about the unfolding of the 1944 Act should be presented in BBC radio broadcast for a United Kingdom audience. Postgate suggested that the civil servant Weaver made a programme directly discussing how the eleven-plus exam is conducted. Weaver was not given permission to broadcast, allegedly by his employers, and was ‘not allowed to speak about large number of disappointed parents’ from whom he had received letters.²³¹ However, as much of Weaver’s archival words at BBC WAC survive as notes taken from phone calls rather than letters it is not absolutely clear whether Weaver was censored from broadcasting or whether he was making excuses to avoid involvement. Armfelt was brought in as a substitute broadcaster instead. Weaver had collected a number of letters from parents which were passed onto the BBC and then to Armfelt. Armfelt took on the responsibility of making this broadcast with some caution and did not want to discuss the ‘deliberate fiction that parents should be as ready to send children to a school which cannot lead to the professions and better paid jobs than one that does.’²³² Armfelt was instructed that he could not focus on one authority as it might upset parents in another authority and was also asked to shorten his positive statements about the eleven-plus and use the evidence of the letters ‘taking each one as a hypothetical case that might have happened to a hypothetical child.’²³³ Weaver asked to see the script before broadcast and, having seen it, phoned the BBC to express acute disappointment at what he had read. He insisted the ‘You trust Uncle’ tone sounded like ‘official propaganda’. He referred to both Armfelt in person and the script as ‘inaccurate’, ‘superficial’ and ‘patronizing’ and concluded that it offered ‘feeble answers so people would feel they had been evaded.’²³⁴ Armfelt’s programme

²³⁰ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T347 Morg–Morr.

²³¹ BBC WAC RCont: Roger Noel Armfelt 1941-1955, Rowntree to Armfelt, 9.7.51.

²³² *Ibid.*, Armfelt to Rowntree, 17.7.51.

²³³ *Ibid.*, Rowntree, 23.7.51.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, typed notes recorded during telephone call with Weaver, August 1951.

was broadcast on Home as 'Choosing Children' with Armfelt introduced as Professor of Education at Leeds University. The title echoed Wood's earlier wish that the word 'selection' did not appear in programme titles. Weaver's dismay at Armfelt's efforts may have been a personal issue between them but it is noticeable that in this instance it appears that he was in a position where neither the BBC, his employer until 1949 nor his ASG colleagues, were pleased with his efforts.

Shifting Conversations: The Conservatives Return to Power

In 1952, programmes were often concerned with the newly elected Conservative government who had come to power late in 1951, and with cuts to the National expenditure on education. The remaining broadcasts that touch on secondary education in this year, looked at the United States educational system and American way of life. Now that a new government was elected there seems to have been less interest again in bringing the voices of the public to the BBC microphone either in the form of non-fiction or fictional scripting. Coverage of secondary education was regularly now taking the form on BBC Radio of group discussion between experts rather than the expert taking centre stage to deliver a monologue. Not that monologues had vanished from the schedules. Certain high-profile figures were granted that opportunity from time to time.

The television programme 'Schools' formed part of the 'A Roof Over Your Head' Series broadcast in 1952. Newsom discussed the progress on school building in Hertfordshire in the previous decade. The programme included an example of a primary and a secondary modern school and was produced by the artist Peter de Francia.²³⁵ This television programme was the only material made by the BBC that year that focused on the actual products of spending on educational construction. Radio was often focused on the disputes around cuts to expenditure on school provision, cuts which had already begun in the final years of the Labour government. Also in 1952, as part of a Series known as 'Argument', Light broadcast an episode entitled: 'Can we afford to spend less on Education?' The programme was chaired by the broadcaster and crime writer, Edgar Lustgarten.²³⁶ The programme featured the

²³⁵ Peter De Francia (1921-2012) served in the British Army during World War Two interpreting photographs. He was working in museums in New York when this programme was made and later worked as a tutor in British Art Schools becoming professor of painting at RCA, London, 1972.

²³⁶ Lustgarten was educated at Manchester Grammar School and St John's College, Oxford. He worked for the BBC during World War Two as a counter propaganda broadcaster, under the name Brent Wood.

Unionist MP, Sir William Darling and Labour MP, David Hardman, who was previously parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Education. Darling took the view that cuts in educational administration ought to be possible. Hardman was concerned that class sizes were too big. Darling argued that the teacher can be efficient whatever the class size and cuts can be made without affecting pupils and he also pointed out that the cuts to education began in October 1949 under a Labour government. Darling believed the international crises the country now faces in 1952 must take priority over education spending, whereas Hardman believed, and repeated on at least six occasions, that education ‘is the best investment any nation can undergo.’ He insisted ‘every single thinker or philosopher as far as education is concerned demands that we must pay our premium to education.’ Lustgarten tried to steer the conversation on to the topic of the cuts to technical educational provision but neither of the other two speakers would play ball on this topic and they both kept bringing the argument back to LEAs and their choices on how a budget is spent. Darling argued that socialist educational expenditure is too concerned with the ‘polishing of buttons’ and insufficiently concerned with ‘navigating a ship through difficult waters’.²³⁷ He also insisted that solvency is of greater value to future citizens than education and described himself as having been fortunate enough to have left school at 14.

The exact same topic of educational cuts was taken up again a week later in the Series ‘Taking Stock’ in an episode broadcast on Home. On this occasion the group discussion featured ASG members, Longland and Savage alongside Clegg, Gould and Major General Lloyd. Longland, as chair, set the scene at the outset of the programme telling the audience that the Education Act was ‘universally agreed almost without exception throughout the country.’ He linked the Act with the second commandment, clarifying that in moral terms it expected communities to love your neighbours’ children as much as you loved your own. He argued that the new era heralded a longer and more useful secondary education for all, which was not simply about offering a prize for the clever few. With an opening script of this kind it would have been quite difficult to argue for cuts without appearing to be heartless and divisive. Lloyd emphasized the need to provide a useful education to the young adult but his additional remarks ‘for the benefit of listeners, that we are nowhere near yet the

²³⁷ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T305, Low–Lyn.

realization of the ideal which the Act set before us' were cut from the broadcast. Similarly Longland's remarks that it was a 'revolutionary Act' and that we are only a little along the road to putting it into effect are also cut. Savage made it explicit that administrative costs must take the brunt of cuts. Clegg and Gould supported his observation. The group continued their precise discussion of any area of education where cuts could be effectively introduced. Savage wondered whether some grammar school children could actually afford to pay more for schoolbooks. Gould preferred a situation where the State provided all the 'tools of learning'. There are small areas of dispute such as the former example but overall this programme scripts reads like a chat between friends who were all essentially focused on the promotion of the 1944 Education Act and against education becoming an overcrowded and underfinanced 'operation sardine' as Gould referred to it.²³⁸ This familiar gathering of individuals, some of whom dated back to his Forces Broadcasting friendships, delighted Postgate who described himself as 'flushed by the success' of the education episode of the 'Taking Stock' Series.²³⁹

'Serious Argument: the Fairness of selection of children for grammar schools' was broadcast as a conversation between former liberal politician, Frank Byers, conservative MP Derek Walker Smith and Labour Politician John Hynd who was the one of the trio who had left school at 14. Continuing the pattern established in an earlier programme, the BBC ensured that at least one of the speakers represented the successful hardworking public figure who had grown up before the raising of the school leaving age. Rather like the smirking baby Charley in COI Ministry of Education film 'Charley Junior's School Days' (1949), the idea that raising the school leaving age was undesirable seems to have always been presented as something the public expected to hear but something they can be cajoled into viewing as ultimately in the interest of the next generation.

Reflections

Many of the broadcasts discussed so far concerned future intentions rather than any description of educational practice. Reflection on the past, whether it was mainstream education or Independent fee paying schooling, was more dominant in terms of

²³⁸ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T528, Tak-Tal.

²³⁹ BBC WAC, R51/130/8 Talks Education Files 5&6 1947-1954, Postgate to John Green, 8.3.52.

‘column inches’ in spoken word coverage than any programme that gave a vivid impression of contemporary classroom practice. The idea of the inspiring teacher was sometimes discussed but there were few examples of what inspiring teaching might sound like. The word ‘revolution’ used in relation to education crops up from time to time but there was little description of what it was that might be revolutionary in terms of pedagogy or school experience in the wider sense; the word seems to be linked to rolling out access to education that will ensure democratic citizenship. Apart from a brief mention in *Overseas*, class is rarely openly discussed although caricatures based on class stereotypes feature in many programmes. Overall, *Overseas* adopted a more frank and less conciliatory tone than programmes broadcast to a domestic audience, although in the years 1949–1952 the English and Welsh audience began to hear something about the murmurs of public discontent. Technical school and arts education as part of the secondary school curriculum were rarely considered at all in BBC programmes in the years 1944–1952. Requests from schools and local authorities to ask ‘awkward questions’, for instance a letter in December 1952 from Surbiton and Tolworth county secondary schools division requesting programmes to discuss how grammar school courses ‘lack obvious relation’ with everyday life and to address what can be done to prevent early leaving and build character were rejected by the BBC.²⁴⁰

The ‘awkward questions’ about education which war had inspired people to consider, according to Lindsay’s 1943 broadcast, were consistently discussed in monologue form by *Overseas* broadcasts but were muted in BBC domestic radio from 1944–1952. There was certainly an expectation in BBC coverage that threats to democratic stability within Europe and beyond must encourage the audience to be as content as they could be with the secondary education they had been provided with so far. The growing interest in discussion programmes almost appeared to be a space for letting off steam before going back to endure what education it was possible to access. ASG members or guests dominated most of the coverage of secondary education in the eight-year period considered so far. This is not to suggest that they were working in unity, many members had conflicting views on the future of secondary education. However, in this immediate postwar period the BBC appears to have trusted many of these individual ASG members to contribute to programmes and when the provision

²⁴⁰ BBC WAC, R51/130/8 Talks Files 5&6, 1947–1954.

of the 1944 Act was challenged on air, it was never long before ASG members or guests could be heard in the schedule giving a more upbeat view of the secondary education available.

Secondary education was rarely being visited in BBC broadcast without an ASG chaperone in the period 1944–1952 and Tony Gibson did not become involved in programmes that directly represented secondary education in these years. Gibson was a Quaker, conscientious objector, community activist and a regular contributor to BBC broadcasts from the 1940s onwards. He recorded the voices of different communities as part of the work of the mobile units. He did not have opportunities to discuss secondary education on air until the 1960s. It would be difficult to imagine him being given space to discuss the Act on air in the late 1940s or early 1950s, given that his published writings from that era argued:

‘...the New Education Act as a whole is not directed for or against progressive education. It is simply a piece of legislation which puts the schools of the country more under the direct control of the State... Having read the New Education Act we realize that William Godwin’s warning against the project of State education on the grounds that it would put the minds of the mass of the people at the mercy of their rulers, was only too well founded.’²⁴¹

The carefully edited voice of the ordinary citizen was beginning to be championed by occasional programme makers such as Benzie, but the extent to which the 1944 Act could adapt or respond to those voices was not associated with an urgent agenda for change on the part of the BBC. Input into programmes from pupils and parents was minimal, and when it was introduced it was either performed by actors or by individuals whose scripts were edited to present them as ultimately grateful for the educational provision available. In the early years in consideration in this chapter comprehensive schools appeared to be given some serious consideration but increasingly the sympathies of most BBC staff were intent on supporting grammar

²⁴¹ Tony Gibson, *Youth for Freedom: A Consideration of the Factors Influencing the Development of a Free & Socially Effective Youth* (London: Freedom Press 1951), 22–23. Gibson studied Hiworked as a student volunteer in the Blitz and with the Friends’ Service unit in China setting up village schools and cooperatives. An Example of the kind of broadcast which he devised in the early 1950s: Series ‘Under Twenty Parade’ episode ‘Meet Us In Bethnal Green’, tx: 21.10.52. BBC Light. Young people were recorded at their jobs, in their homes, in clubs, shops, and at street corners describing their weekends.

schools and ASG members who matched those sympathies were increasingly in favour. Armfelt's resignation from the BBC was a turning point. He had not championed the grammar school. The freelance BBC contributors who dominate the next chapter, men who also happened to be ASG members, such as James and Fisher, were dedicated champions of the grammar school.

Chapter 2

‘I beseech you gentlemen to believe it is possible that you may be mistaken’ 1953–1959

I can only speak for myself, and the parents I’ve talked to, but if we are anything like representative, lots of people are thoroughly disillusioned with the Butler Act and with the system of education that’s come out of it. In fact, dissatisfied is hardly a strong enough word – rebellious I think is the word ... of course you gentlemen – the experts – don’t agree with me ... Now you tell me that our educational system will be wonderful one day, if I’m patient ... I’m only a parent, I’m only an outsider but in the words of Oliver Cromwell “I beseech you gentlemen to believe it is possible that you may be mistaken.”

Roy Lewis ‘Can’t We Do Better Than This?’ Home, 4.3.53

Why should your Betty and the Teddy boys on the corner have a Report written about them? And why just now? Well, I think the answer is in the one word Responsibility. And if I had to describe the theme of this Report, or the thread running through it, I should use the word Responsibility. I am sorry if that sounds a rather unexciting and unglamorous theme-word; that doesn’t prevent it from being extremely important, especially just at the present time.

J. F. Wolfenden ‘Citizens of Tomorrow’, Home, 21.10.55

Introduction

This chapter considers the evidence of non-fiction BBC programmes representing secondary education between 1953 and 1959. In these years the BBC staff aligned themselves closely with ASG members and others who were unquestioning supporters of the grammar school. From the point of view of the BBC staff membership of the ASG was not obviously a matter of interest, but a preference for grammar school was sought out. Those connected with either direct grant grammar schools or those whose teaching experiences were predominantly in Independent schools were the voices most regularly heard. These favoured ASG members were not employed by the BBC but were contributing to programmes freelance. ASG member Norman Fisher, as a freelance BBC contributor, had a significant autonomy in programme making. Teachers and other ASG members who doubted that the Tripartite system was meeting the needs of England and Wales were not excluded entirely from programmes but their voices were edited and curbed. The editorial control remained with BBC staff with regular input from freelance pro-grammar

school ASG contributors who could chaperone and quell overt questioning of the status quo. Technology was leading to a more widespread recording of parents and pupils but such material was used very sparingly indeed when the topics of secondary education were discussed. The curriculum was rarely discussed in detail on air, although by the end of this chapter science versus the arts was simmering as a topic considered of public interest. Rather than delving into the details of the curriculum the undercurrent present in these 1950s BBC programmes seems to have been a mistrust of progressive education and an assumption that the grammar schools must be championed at all costs to limit the encroachment of the progressive tradition in LEA schools.

The chapter uses 82 BBC broadcasts as evidence. Some of these are full-length programmes and some a section of a programme with a magazine format.²⁴² Of all the programmes considered, 30 were transmitted on Home including regional Home services, 14 on Third, plus 4 on Network Three which was transmitted on the Third frequency in the evenings, 18 on Overseas, 9 on Light and 7 on BBC TV. Of the 82 programmes considered in this chapter, 13 were converted into articles in *The Listener*. This period sees the largest number of articles converted from broadcasts representing secondary education metamorphosed into *The Listener* articles and it also sees the largest amount of letters generated in *The Listener* letters pages on this same topic when compared with the periods 1944–1952 and 1960–1965. This chapter is divided into subheadings which make more overt reference to types of LEA schools and subject areas, such as art and science, to match the more detailed discussion that was developing on air as the unfolding of the 1944 Act was more regularly discussed in BBC non-fiction programmes. A glance at Appendix 2 shows the highest level of ASG involvement in programmes representing secondary education for the period as a whole came in the years 1953–1956. Perhaps this was because these were the years where the promotion of democratic education in a Cold War climate intensified, as part of a Western opposition to the possible attractions of Communism.

1953–1959 was a period of transition for the BBC when it began to outgrow some rules of wartime censorship. Jacob took on the role of Director General of the BBC in the December of 1952 and remained in post for the entire period with which this chapter is concerned. A former army officer and military assistant secretary to the

²⁴² Full details of programmes, dating from 1953–1959, discussed in this chapter, can be found in Appendix 2.

War Cabinet during the Second World War, Jacob was keen for the BBC to invest in television and he angered Reith, with his approach. The Suez crisis in 1956 ended the Fourteen Day Rule, under which broadcasters were forbidden to discuss any issue which was to be debated in Parliament in the coming fortnight, or to invite any MP to discuss on air any Bill before the House. Broadcasting executive and journalist Geoffrey Sandford Cox, described how Suez was too big to be contained by the rule and that, in the aftermath, inhibitions about political broadcasting for election campaigns also began to be undermined. Technological advances in the 1950s with increased television broadcast, commercial competition, hand-held cameras and sound recording innovations all worked against Churchill's concern that producers using their 'robot organization' of broadcasting could endanger democracy because they were not directly answerable to the electorate.²⁴³ When looking at the representation of secondary education in particular, however, this move away from any formal censorship lingering since the Second World War did not prevent a familiar set of voices being put forward to curate what the audience was introduced to in broadcast discussion. Network Three had been introduced on Third's wavelength in early evenings because the Third was not considered to have a sufficiently large audience to merit the whole wavelength so the material broadcast on the Third was seeking a popular response from 'minority' groups.²⁴⁴

The two excerpts, selected to open this chapter, are chosen to convey how doubts about the provision of 'secondary education for all' continued to tip-toe into a wider BBC debate about the provision of secondary schooling. While the critics of the realities of the unfolding of the Butler Act were given some platform on air, they were usually chaperoned by trusted figures within BBC circles in the years 1953–1959. The journalist and economist, Roy Lewis, had collaborated with the conservative MP Angus Maude to write an attack in 1949 on the experience of *The English Middle Classes* under a Labour Government in the immediate postwar years. However, M V Jeffreys, Clegg and Gould with Wolfenden acting as chair, surrounded him for the experience of making the programme 'Can't We Do Better Than This?' in 1953. As has been made apparent all but Lewis and Gould were either members of the ASG or guests at ASG gatherings so, although Lewis provided a challenge to their collective

²⁴³ G. Cox, *See it Happen: The Making of ITN* (London: Bodley Head, 1983), 112–3.

²⁴⁴ For further discussion of Network Three see Humphrey Carpenter *The Envy of the World: Fifty Years of the BBC Third Programme and Radio 3 1946–1996* (London: Weinfeld and Nicolson, 1996), 181–185.

protectiveness of the 1944 Act, he was significantly outnumbered and the audience heard a greater volume of thinking from the established position, thus attempting to reinforce the idea that Lewis's doubts were a minority perspective. However, Lewis's views also drew on an anti-progressive reaction to educational provision, which was developing momentum across the 1950s. This reaction did not often respond directly to the realities of progressive pedagogy but instead took the form of a mistrust of most innovation in schooling and made space for nostalgic reflections from those recalling their Independent school experiences dating from before the 1944 Act.

In the second excerpt above, John Wolfenden (Figure 44) voiced an unchallenged monologue, and offered some sympathetic and reassuring remarks to try to quell or appease critics of the status quo in postwar society. Wolfenden had been headmaster of Uppingham and Shrewsbury schools during the 1940s and worked on government committees concerning issues on education and youth. He did not become a regular broadcaster on the BBC until he took the post of Vice Chancellor of Reading in 1950. Wolfenden's 'Citizens of Tomorrow' focused on the practical recommendations for the upbringing of young people and queries whether the focus on young people has been a problem, making them 'unnecessarily self-conscious'. He was not here focused on the provision of the 1944 Act but looking more widely at the nurturing of democratic citizens. He presented a 'clear call for more deliberate and explicit cooperation' between home and school and for a re-affirmation of moral standards. However, in the midst of his 'lecture' to the audience he did allow some criticism of the 1944 Act – that the part-time education promised is absent in reality: 'unfortunately the boys and girls who need this sort of thing most are not getting it.'²⁴⁵ Wolfenden's contributions to broadcasting, as the introductory excerpt bears witness, were essentially concerned with keeping the status quo and not asking complicated questions, although small admissions of inadequacy on the part of policy makers were included in such broadcasts, perhaps to distance the delivery from the earlier wartime propaganda. Like Newsom he then began to contribute regularly to 'Any Questions' and 'The Brains Trust' on Home and 'Younger Generation Question Time' on Light. He acted as chair of 'Can't We Do Better Than This?' in 1953, a role which Newsom himself had declined to take. This programme was understood to be the first in an occasional Series but in fact no further episodes were made. Unlike

²⁴⁵ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T660 With–Wom

Fisher who made no attempt to mask his personal views when acting as a chair on programmes discussing secondary education, Wolfenden tried to let the speakers all have a chance to be heard and to prevent any one speaker excluding another. He did not bring his own quips to the discussion. At times he could not balance the intensity of disagreement and sounds almost alarmed by the rugby scrum of voices when he tried to calm the speakers: 'Come on lads, come on.'²⁴⁶ He also gave Lewis the last words in the broadcast rather than taking the chance to sum up the proceedings as Fisher always did.

Wolfenden's 1953 Overseas programme for London Calling Asia, 'The True Purpose of Education', was a monologue which tried to go deeper than the recognition that education will enable the next generation to compete technologically and to perform roles in democratic self-government. He argued that education both formal and informal within the family 'is to enable any child to take his place as he grows up, in the community into which he has been born.'²⁴⁷ Tradition was commended in this talk and the similarities of the West and Asia in their commitment to traditional steady stable societies are remarked upon. The United States experience of educating immigrant populations to find their identity as American Citizens is commented upon as something which could be misused as a system for imposing totalitarian thought on future generations. Wolfenden voiced concern that seeing education as a force to change society 'for the better' can be problematic:

'If as we have done in Britain, you nationalize some of the big industries or the health service, you will indeed achieve a greater measure of social justice; but then you are faced with the need to find some opportunities for the exercise of the private virtues like thrift, generosity, unselfishness and the devotion of the individual workman to his job.'²⁴⁸

Wolfenden continued his outspokenness in this broadcast of the dangers of education being 'perverted into being the instrument which one class uses against another' and education being manipulated as a means of enhancing social status. He ended with the same choice of word that he used in his 'Citizens of Tomorrow' broadcast two years

²⁴⁶ Ibid.,

²⁴⁷ Ibid.,

²⁴⁸ Ibid.,

later – ultimately education is about teaching children to grow up to take responsibility in their community.

Analysis of how the non-fiction representation of secondary education by the BBC moved from a dependence on sound to an expectation of looking and listening, takes 1953 as a starting point because it is widely understood as the point when television ownership increased so that the audiovisual spectacle of the coronation could be shared within the home. Contemporaries acknowledged the established relationship between the monarchy and radio broadcasting, with a 1953 *The Listener* article describing the microphone as ‘a buttress’ to the monarchy, but the change to a more visual way of sharing immediate cultural experience, which people could watch on television within the space of their own homes, has only begun to be unpicked retrospectively. In addition to examining further BBC radio broadcast, the ways in which the secondary school received attention from the BBC as an audiovisual spectacle is explored. The occasional moments of secondary schooling captured by documentary makers in the first seven-year period where television was expanding its provision and awakening to the challenge of new Independent Television Networks are flagged up for scrutiny. The social scientist and market research pioneer, Mark Abrams’ own handwritten notes from the early 1950s, reflect his readings on how pictures were believed to attract more attention from the public than text; how pictures are more easily remembered than words and how they speak a universal language transcending language barriers and showing what is of more immediate interest to ‘the masses.’²⁴⁹ In light of these contemporary assumptions, it might also be anticipated that certain subjects could be deemed better to remain invisible, or at least un-visualised for BBC television.

While the audiovisual transmission was becoming a more dominant area of broadcasting, the relationship between it and the spoken word was also being examined in a more self-conscious way than had been apparent in the 1940s. The BBC’s own publications gave significant column inches to discussion on how lifelike conversational exchanges or thought-provoking juxtapositions of material can be brought to new audiences to enhance informal education. The political economist and

²⁴⁹ Churchill Archives Centre, The Papers of Mark Abrams (1906–1994), GBR/0014/ABMS, Uncatalogued handwritten notes in Box 61, File marked “Difficulties in Communication & Failures in Teaching” 1947-1951. 1939-1941, Abrams worked with BBC Overseas Research Department and on government surveys looking at the population's experience, beliefs and morale. In 1946, Abrams founded Research Services Limited.

regular contributor to BBC publications during the 1950s, Andrew Shonfield, argued in 1954 in the *BBC Quarterly*, that an Englishman who wanted to make a point depended more than others ‘on being seen as well as heard.’ He went on to explain that visuals add vitality to informal exposition but deaden formal exposition on television:

‘Of the sound addict going to the television screen is the discovery of how much extra vitality is given to a purely intellectual dispute by visual images of people talking to one another.... The cult of understatement induces a watchfulness in British audiences; since it is understood that tone of voice as a means of emotional expression will be deliberately played down, audiences need their visual aids to interpretation and are used to looking for small signs in the faces and attitudes of those who speak.’²⁵⁰

In 1957 Martin Armstrong, an independent contributor to *The Listener*, was again reiterating these ideas when discussing ‘The Brains Trust’ on television: ‘the visible presence ... a smile, a frown, a sarcastic twist of the lip, can reinforce, modify and even contradict the spoken word.’²⁵¹

It was not just the written texts of BBC publications that began to ponder the experience of visual literacy. *The Listener* magazine also expanded the number of pages given over to television coverage under the heading ‘The Critic on the Hearth’ from 1953 onwards. The articles that appeared in *The Listener* continued to be drawn mainly from radio broadcast discussion on the Home and Third, working under the assumption that what was said on these programmes best merited being kept for posterity in essay form. Adverts selling products to enhance eleven-plus success are also in evidence, betraying the assumption that it was the success of boys in this exam that would encourage parents to open their wallets (Figure 45). However, with more pages at its disposal ‘The Critic on the Hearth’ also had more space for promotional stills from documentary programmes which are a crucial source of evidence given that very few of these 1950s television recordings of programmes have survived to be viewed by contemporary researchers. Many of the documentaries, which were illustrated with stills, and discussed in *The Listener*’s accompanying ‘Critic on the

²⁵⁰ A. Shonfield, ‘The Topical Programme in Television’, *BBC Quarterly* 9 (Apr–Oct 1954): 13–18.

²⁵¹ *The Listener*, from ‘Critic on the Hearth’, Jan–June 1957.

Hearth' section, concerned contemporary social issues and attempted to present social realism. However, there were rarely any depictions of secondary schooling. The documentary maker Duncan Ross made a programme about a retired sailors home in Stepney and Ishmaeli café in the Docklands. This was not filmed on location but by reconstructing the environment within the safety of the BBC studio. (Figure 46) There was a wider documentary fascination with children in trouble – for instance depictions of Juvenile Court (Figure 47) or the troubled experiences of foster children in new homes (Figure 48). These programmes were based on documentary evidence but re-created with actors in the studio. Vignettes from the programmes were sometimes presented as still illustrations in 'The Critic on the Hearth'. Sometimes the critic, responsible for writing the accompanying text, did not examine the content. The images were left as visual curiosities floating in the main body of the text.

The first appearance of a postwar secondary classroom that was not serving the purpose of promoting architecture appeared in *The Listener* in May 1956. The environment it depicted was unusual rather than familiar to any region of England and Wales. In BBC television's 'Stanley Spencer: Cookham Village' the artist Stanley Spencer is shown seated at a desk positioned at right angles to the rest of the class who are presumably dutifully following further instruction from the teacher at Cookham County Modern (Figure 49). The teacher was invisible and beyond the frame of the image. Spencer was drawing, he was not making eye contact or in any way communicating with the pupils. He is not exactly among them, he is positioned sideways to them, but the evidence can be interpreted as showing that secondary modern schools are fruitfully engaged with artistic practice or technical drawing. The images suggest a potentially enlightening environment for the suitable candidates for draughtsmanship and related vocational pursuits rather than abstract thinking, thus reinforcing the idea that secondary modern schools might be an appropriate disciplined environment for the right 'type' of learner.²⁵²

Grammar Schools

The BBC began the period 1953–1959 with a whole-hearted unreserved commitment to promoting the grammar school. ASG member, James, whose contributions have already been begun to be explored, was not only serialized in *The Times*, with adverts

²⁵² 'Stanley Spencer: Cookham Village' tx: 30.5.56. BBC TV. The details are not listed in the Appendices as it is not a programme generally concerned with secondary education.

declaring ‘Crisis in the Schools’ (Figure 50) and articles promoting his arguments for the importance of the grammar school tradition, but successive issues of *The Listener* gave space for lengthy articles drawn from James’s BBC spoken word broadcasts from the North of England Home. This resulted in significant column inches being given over to his defence of the grammar school and his attack on non-selective forms of education. No other speaker on education was given as much space as James was in *The Listener* across the entire period considered in this study. He did not describe grammar school experience in these articles but instead attacked the progressive movement in education in both comprehensives and in some Independent schools. He linked the progressive movement to a flawed understanding of democracy. Manchester was also the territory of educational concern for both Fisher, who held the position of CEO for Manchester until 1955 and Shena Simon. Fisher and James guarded the grammar school. Simon wanted rid of it.²⁵³

Firstly, James’s contributions merit some dissection. His articles to a certain extent build on an ASG discussion dating back to 1948, which James himself opened and which was entitled ‘What is an Educated Man?’ By the time such discussions were edited and filtered and re-used for published journalism and radio broadcast in the subsequent five years, certain silences were established. For instance the insistence that ‘the role of the state is not standardized education but keeper of the public conscience ... an intimately personal job of laying mind against mind’ was not directly articulated in broadcast discussion although indirectly it informed the approach of ASG members on air.²⁵⁴ The variety of the 1948 ASG meeting is not echoed when James himself becomes the spokesperson on air in monologue form, delivering his impressions uncontested and unchallenged. *The Listener* editorials however did link his arguments to a concern not directly communicated by James in his writing: ‘local education authorities are very largely the rulers of their own houses and can often make or mar the life of a child born within their boundaries.’²⁵⁵ Even though BBC programmes were not giving much detail on regional variety in this period, *The Listener* editorial was allowing barbed hints in print at the element of lottery as to where a child grew up and how their LEA would provide for its local

²⁵³ D. Crook ‘Local authorities and comprehensivization in England and Wales, 1944-1974’ Submission to *Oxford Review of Education* (2002) Theme: ‘A century of local education authorities’ Guest Editor: Roy Lowe, 14.

²⁵⁴ ASG/1/2, What is an educated man in contemporary society, 1948, Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL.

²⁵⁵ *The Listener*, 26 February – 26 March 1953.

communities. Although it was another decade before this perceived injustice was broadcast in documentary film.

On air, James wondered whether there was too much emphasis placed on teachers and schools shaping people's beliefs. He argued that the word democratic should not be used to exclude tradition and to muddle tolerance with indifference thereby allowing progressive educators to dodge the issue of the proper use of authority. Scaremongering language used by James in newspapers and educational journals from 1947 onwards, had warned of the perils of comprehensive education. His word choices: 'impoverishment', 'national disaster', 'grave social and educational and cultural evils.' could be more readily associated with famine or alien invasion. James's attempts to halt a potential loss of tradition through alternatives to the tripartite system have been referenced by postwar historians of education, from Simon onwards.²⁵⁶ However, James's writing in *The Listener* does not enter into a tirade against comprehensives, instead there is only a brief objection to his stand against them and a much deeper dissection of why non-selective education weakens the culture and traditions of a nation. His *The Listener* articles and the BBC broadcasts from which they were drawn are distinct from his other journalism in this period in that they focus specifically on where authority lies within democratic society:

'But we must be aware of the very real danger that, by throwing over the authoritarian teacher in our desire for liberty, we may enthrone in his place an even more oppressive tyranny – that of the group ... And the tyranny of the consciously progressive maybe just as brutal as the out of date heartiness of the play up and play the game school. The very modern pedagogue who hopes that Jennifer will integrate herself dynamically with the social pattern or some claptrap of that sort, is in its way as stupidly coercive as the senior prefect who says that all boys who do not watch the house match will be beaten.'²⁵⁷

It is not only the issue of potential comprehensivization that alarmed James but also the denial of the competitive nature of children. Underlying all his concerns was a

²⁵⁶ See also D. Rubinstein and B. Simon *The evolution of the comprehensive school, 1926–1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969) 66–67 on James's defence of the grammar school.

²⁵⁷ *The Listener*, Eric James, "What is a 'Democratic Education'? II", 5 March 1953, page 383.

fear that ‘cultural equalitarianism’, as James defined it when broadcasting, will lead us to believe that mending a fuse is as important as higher mathematics and Greek. This will in turn, he predicted, lead to ‘mediocrity and decay’ if we do not maintain a culture in schools and universities which maintains high standards that are not those of the majority. James does not venture into descriptions of the changes in grammar school experience since the 1944 Act. The ASG member and journalist, Dent, off air, himself attributed the concerns of grammar School headmasters to be a ‘fear of loss of social tone ... educationally unprofitable fee-payers who had been replaced by abler more uncouth scholars’, but Dent’s private observations of James and other headmasters, who Maclure was to classify as ‘the Direct Grant voice’, did not get replicated for the ears of BBC domestic audiences in this period.²⁵⁸ *The Listener* letter pages take the opportunity of the topic of secondary education being aired to develop some related arguments. Although comprehensives and the eleven-plus were initially discussed by one correspondent, in light of James’s broadcasts, the debate swiftly moved to the defence of the different methods for teaching children to read, individuals’ particular experiences of teaching, the dignity of the teacher and the validity of particular pedagogical approaches.²⁵⁹

The only other individual given a monologue transmission on the subject of the grammar school in 1953 was Rée, broadcasting on European. The content was essentially a Cold War publicity exercise on what is correct about the English Christian tradition of selective education and was accompanied by other broadcasts applauding Preparatory Schools and the Public School tradition. Rée applauds the ‘fortunate’ families who have their sons selected for grammar school on the basis of their ‘vitality, courage, sensitiveness and intelligence.’ He commends the extra curricular activities, the daily religious assemblies ‘which each state school is bound by law to hold’ and described the specialized nature of the sixth form curriculum: ‘the linguist will not only know about literature and language but about the history and politics of the country whose language he is studying.’²⁶⁰ Rée was also published in the letters pages of *The Listener* months before his European broadcasts, insisting that County Council grammar schools in Hertfordshire ‘jealously guarded’ their freedoms

²⁵⁸ ASG/1/3: Report on the Meeting of the All Souls Group held on 5/6 July 1952, 1952 at Lincoln College. Universal Secondary Education, Reviewed Eight Years After the 1944 Education Act Newsam Archives, Ioe/UCL, & Maclure, *Sixty Years On*, 7.

²⁵⁹ *The Listener*, responses to James appeared in the Letters pages between 5.3.53 & 9.4.53.

²⁶⁰ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T432 Red-Reg.

and were free from the financial worries of Independent schools. The ensuing correspondence which loosely relates to James's series of broadcasts and developed a bickering exchange disputing whether the Independent or the state schools do the most for democratic society and a concern that if the Independent schools collapse that state boarding schools will be required to take on the responsibility previously covered by these schools.²⁶¹

Although the job titles of Scupham and Rowntree suggest to an outsider to the BBC that they are responsible specifically for educational broadcasting, they actually played consistent roles from the 1940s onwards in vetting who can speak to represent secondary education in a wide variety of non-fiction broadcast coverage. What is striking in the BBC correspondence amongst its own staff, during much of the 1950s, is how arguments for the 'necessity of the grammar school' were shored up by the Controller of Talks for Home; by producers such as Rowntree and by figures such as Scupham who appear to have had significant influence over other BBC radio coverage of secondary education and were perceived to go 'to a great deal of trouble' to find willing grammar school heads to talk on air. 'Necessity' is the key word here in terms of how the grammar School was to be protected on air. There was very little opportunity for anyone to make programmes that conveyed doubt about the grammar school tradition because of the unity of those in positions of power at the BBC to ensure that the grammar school was celebrated. D F Boyd, Chief Assistant for Home Talks, wrote to Rowntree in 1953 to reassure how they all shared with the 'Controller' a support for the grammar school.²⁶² Gibson had by 1957 extensive experience of both recording young people's spoken word recollections on schooling and social life as well as time spent in prolonged phone conversations with LEAs discussing regional variation of secondary provision. He pieced together his findings in a dramatized documentary series featuring the perspectives of headmasters, children cramming for the eleven-plus, transfers to schools after 11 and issues around National Service and Conscientious Objection. Rowntree shot down his proposals as unsuitable and said earlier 'tentative acceptance' had become 'outdated' and there was insufficient budget.²⁶³

²⁶¹ *The Listener*, 1 January 1953, page 25.

²⁶² BBC WAC R51/130/8 Education Talks Files 5&6 1947–1954, Boyd to Rowntree 11.12.53.

²⁶³ BBC WAC RCont: Tony Gibson Talks 2: 1950–1957 Gibson to Talks Booking 18.2.57 & Rconti Tony Gibson (J.A.C. Gibson) Script writer 1: 1957–1962. Rowntree to Gibson, 1.5.57.

Within the BBC, programme makers such as Benzie did not necessarily follow the adherence to grammar schools and suggested, in 1953, that the Third should bring in psychologists, neurologists and others: ‘which make some of the assumptions of educationists about the growth of children during the time when their brand of secondary school is selected out of date.’²⁶⁴ Postgate was keen to encourage Benzie with this topic but one of the recipients of these suggestions, which were circulated to the Controller of the Home and to Rowntree, vetoed such ideas with a pencil ‘No’ in the margin, while the idea of a further contribution by James received a neat tick.²⁶⁵ Those educators who volunteered programmes from outside the BBC were also snubbed in the early 1950s if they counteracted James’s argument and they were not subsequently commissioned to present their side of the debate.²⁶⁶

It was not simply that whole programmes were given over to the defence of grammar schools but that programmes with other central content made space to applaud this form of secondary education. In 1954, former head of Shrewsbury and Eton, Cyril Allington and headmaster of Sedbergh School, J H Bruce Lockhart, both commended the option of investing in a good prep school and then making use of ‘a good grammar’, as asides to other distinct arguments that they are addressing. Other series of BBC programmes in the 1950s also offer the audience a backward looking attachment to traditional selective education pre-dating the 1944 Act which does not engage with mainstream educational provision by LEAs at all. The audience could witness, for instance, the reminiscing voices of the author and diplomat, Harold Nicholson’s ‘End of Term’ and lawyer and conservative politician, and briefly Minister of Education in 1957, Quintin Hogg discussing ‘Some Horrors of Childhood’. Born in 1886 and 1907 respectively neither had direct experience of being educated since the 1944 Act and both sent their own children to Eton both before and after the Act. Although they talked at times of the misery of their own education, the subtext suggests that it was character building and that they have lived to tell the tale.

Other broadcasts such as the educator Michael Croft’s 1953 Home broadcast: ‘Two Ways Through School’ also gave much appreciation to the narrator’s reflections of his own education prior to World War Two. Croft praised the boys at Alleyn’s

²⁶⁴ BBC WAC RCont: W O Lester Smith Talks 1: 1938–1962.

²⁶⁵ BBC WAC R51/130/8 Education Talks Files 5&6 1947–1954.

²⁶⁶ See note 302 for further details on the exclusion of Trevor Lovett during the 1950s.

boys school, Dulwich, a school established as a seventeenth century boys school, which now the audience was told had pupils with the initiative to start their own dramatic society.²⁶⁷ Column inches were again given to Kurt Hahn, headmaster of Gordunston, and Dr Vaughan from Rugby school, to describe their particular Independent school vision. It is also apparent that those who had expressed doubts about the Public School tradition historically were also taken to task. Conservative MP, Christopher Hollis defended Eton in 1954 and attacked George Orwell's recollections of his isolation at this school. Hollis declares of Orwell that: 'in his rebellion against authority there was a kind of obstinate and puritan sincerity ... [Orwell] says gross inequalities should be abolished but if you abolish one you only put another in its place.'²⁶⁸

Some slightly more challenging and more descriptive spoken word productions on the subject of mainstream secondary schooling did make it onto the BBC Home erratically in the period 1953–1959, but still the underlying message was one that suggested that few children were really capable of the exploration of academic content and that anything which was not academic content could be summed up in a short sentence. John Usborne's 1954 'Putting it Across: A Schoolmaster's Reflections' describes his first experience teaching in a grammar school with dark humour:

'I was instantly struck by the magnificent behaviour. Hundreds of hefty types tramping in as if to a funeral. No pushing or nattering, no animal high spirits ... the place ran like clockwork without me sticking out a dictatorial chin ... in the classroom they seemed half dead – rows and rows of well-behaved sausages looking forward to being normal on the playing fields.'²⁶⁹

Usborne's more critical remarks about teaching in a grammar school being 'dull' are cut by an editor from the rehearsal script. Usborne questions the curriculum more overtly than most contemporary voices heard on radio, wondering whether 'three quarters of what we teach them just befogs the real issue' and implies that in five years in his own Public School education the only thing that taught him anything was

²⁶⁷ Alleyn's was in 1953 an Independent fee paying school for boys. From 1957 it became a Direct Grant grammar school for boys. Michael Croft also founded the National Youth Theatre.

²⁶⁸ *The Listener*, July–December 1954 pages 382–838.

²⁶⁹ BBC WAC Microfilm Script Reel: T630. See page 96, note 223 on John Usborne.

acting in *Antigone*. While the curriculum of secondary education is rarely discussed in detail in BBC programmes in this period, *Antigone* as a play receives several references within broadcasts on secondary education. Jean Anouilh's play, first produced in Paris under Nazi censorship in 1944, reworked *Antigone* as a rejection of authority and a representation of democratic power in the face of oppression. (Figure 51). Usborne's concluding remarks do however either unwittingly or deliberately reinforce the idea that only one in twenty boys will manage to read *War and Peace*, leaving the audience to grapple with the familiar BBC subtext that the majority are rightfully excluded from a grammar school type of education. Usborne makes no reference at all to the role of science in secondary education.

Fisher is the individual about whom I have been able to find out the least and yet who acted perhaps more than anyone to spontaneously inhibit the voices of comprehensive supporters from influencing programming. If a comprehensive supporting speaker made it past the vetting of Rowntree and Scupham they then had to contend with Fisher on air. He was often the chair of BBC discussions in the 1950s. Fisher attended Cardiff High School and then St Edmunds Hall Oxford. He first appears in BBC WAC files in 1941 as Major Fisher of the Army Education Corps headquarters at 15 Stanhope Gate. Ann Harris from the BBC had been sent to write a report of her interview with him in which Fisher put himself forward 'half in earnest' as a broadcaster because he saw himself in touch with an audience so different from the peacetime one.²⁷⁰ However, it was not until a decade later that he became audible in BBC broadcast in 1951 where he chaired a radio broadcast on the Fifty One Society. In 1953 he was broadcasting on the 'Younger Generation Question Time' and from that point onwards he was consistently broadcasting for the BBC and importantly acting as a consultant on programmes, a role that was to continue into the 1960s. Fisher was vehemently against the outlook of pro-comprehensive figures who had held responsibility for large cities, such as Savage, who Fisher referred to as an 'idée fixe gladiator'.²⁷¹ Clegg, on the other hand, Fisher would encourage to be heard on the BBC intermittently, because Clegg's remit as a CEO excluded the bigger Yorkshire cities and was focused around rural areas: 'he will support rural comps not

²⁷⁰ BBC WAC RCont: Norman Fisher, File T1, 1951–1958. Although the file is catalogued with the date 1951 it includes earlier paperwork including 'Report of Interview with Major Norman Fisher' dated 1941.

²⁷¹ BBC WAC RCont: Norman Fisher, File T1, 1951–1958. Fisher to Scott, 22.5.54.

mammoth LCC kind, he cares about people and things, has a slight Derbyshire accent and is sensible.’²⁷²

Fisher chaired the most detailed series of discussions on secondary education provision by the BBC, during 1954. He was still at this point the CEO for Manchester and a strong adherent to the Tripartite system. It would be very difficult to argue that Fisher was a neutral chair. BBC files reveal that his chairing of programmes discussing education grated on the audience.²⁷³ Reading the scripts through decades later it is not hard to see why. His quips about parents not understanding their own children’s limitations include: ‘You see there are no letters that I’ve seen that come in from parents which have said ‘Please do treat my goose as a goose.’ He also remarked ‘someone one day will write a thesis on the importance of a bicycle as an educational incentive’ and made light hearted remarks about a boy’s keenness to wear a bowler hat and be a man and how girls look ‘nice’ in velour hats as part of their uniform.²⁷⁴ Nothing in Fisher’s delivery suggested he has any sociological imagination about the experiences of an audience who are uncomfortable with the Tripartite provision; rather that he understood the whole controversy to be based on an ornamental collection of material symbols of schooling and on parents who do not understand what category their children should be relegated to. Even more frustratingly, Fisher often interrupts the conversation between those who disagree at exactly the moment when a more detailed understanding of the predicament is beginning to be revealed by speakers. This is apparent in this excerpt of conversation from the programme ‘Is the Comprehensive School the Answer?’ in June 1954:

Chinn – I think the grammar schools were in biological terms a sport produced perhaps by the 1902 Education Act

Rée – Yes well it’s a sport that’s been going on an awful long time

Chinn – No it’s taken the same name as, it is educating an indigenous class ...

Fisher – You have left it too late to digress into history.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Ibid., Fisher to Scott 7.5.54.

²⁷³ BBC WAC, Education Talks Files 5&6, pencil postscript added to Memo from Marguerite Scott to 8 June 1954, ‘Anyway it’s Fisher they complain of.’

²⁷⁴ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio script reel: T159, Fis–Fit.

²⁷⁵ W H Chinn was CEO for Coventry and not a member of the ASG. Coventry LEA ran comprehensive schools from the early 1950s such as Woodlands and Caludon Castle. Chinn had worked for the Colonial Office advising on social welfare and as a government Crown Agent during the 1930s. He also worked for the Palestine Board of Education in the late 1940s.

While Fisher may, as a matter of habit, have felt himself responsible for stopping the programme from overrunning by restricting tangential conversation, these discussions on schooling were actually broadcast after significant editing and were not live broadcasts. Half knowledges about the different types of grammar school are brushed over and left hazy. Throughout this period the tensions and difference between Direct Grant and LEA grammars are left hanging in the voices of James and Rée. Fisher's quips, as listed above, and his general curbing of the conversation is reminiscent of the journalist Hugh Fairlie's observation that at crucial moments during a broadcast a BBC chair would interrupt to ensure that personal and passionate opinions were not clearly expressed.²⁷⁶ When it comes to trying to silence further discussion of grammar schools and of the 1902 Act, Maclure had not had any success a year earlier in 1953 when he proposed a programme to the BBC comparing the 1944 and 1902 Acts. He was turned down by 'the authorities' on the basis of the 1944 Act having been: 'ventilated so extensively that only an authority of acknowledged and international eminence ought to re-open the subject just yet.'²⁷⁷ While the BBC had repeatedly discussed the 1944 Act in this period, the 1902 Act had actually never been the subject of the entire programme.

Shortly after Maclure's attempts to push such a programme, *The Listener* had published an anonymous review of Dent's recently published Routledge & Kegan Paul book *Growth in English Education* with a rather withering commentary in *The Listener* 'Book Chronicle' pages. The reviewer implied the dependence on 'friendly Australian observers' and the desire to present the educational story as one of 'visions of greatness' limited the 'full story on the tradition of pupil-centred education.' The reviewer reprimands Dent for not exploring the 'battle for and against activity methods which consumed the interest and attention of so many teachers and trainers of teachers in the years following the war.'²⁷⁸ When trawling through the evidence for this period it becomes apparent that there are not clear-cut divides between supporters of progressivism, supporters of the Tripartite system and supporters of comprehensives. Supporters and detractors on progressive education could take

²⁷⁶ Fairlie, *Establishment*, 193, 200. Most contributors were Oxbridge men, including Christopher Hollis. John Vaizey contributed a chapter ridiculing his own education and military training entitled 'The Public Schools.'

²⁷⁷ BBC WAC RCont: J Stuart Maclure, File 1:1953–1962.

²⁷⁸ *The Listener*, July–December 1954, page 255.

various positions regarding selective schooling. For example, those who champion secondary modern schools may champion progressive practice and support a stable continuation of the Tripartite settlement and some who support secondary moderns or comprehensives could be wary of progressive practice.

When the public doubts about grammar schools, expressed through letters to the BBC and audience research, began to make some of the BBC coverage appear out of touch, then programme titles began to focus more on the selection process of the eleven-plus than on the actual grammar school itself. For example Robert Reid's 'Woman's Hour' coverage in 1955 and Gilbert Harding's 1956 coverage, accompanied by Edward Ward and Cyril Ray making 'on-the-spot' enquiries in various parts of the country. Miles and Edward Blishen were also given some space to analyse parents' preference for the grammar school in 1957 but Miles, who had steered Putney Girls Grammar through the transition to comprehensive could always be heard defending in both radio and later television coverage the idea that the grammar school lives on within comprehensives rather than directly unpicking what it is that parents are craving when they hope that their child will be given space within this selective institution.

By 1958, after the Labour Party had declared their willingness to move towards comprehensivization if elected to power, the topic of grammar schools was revived but still the structures of the programme making by the BBC remained distinctly cautious. Fisher was by 1958 the Chair of the National Coal Board staff college, when not preoccupied with BBC broadcasting duties. He had not been replaced for BBC discussion programmes despite audience reservations about him.²⁷⁹ Fisher's views on grammar schools had not altered either. Wellens and Harry Davies, headmaster of Nottingham boys grammar, joined forces as part of a group discussion using drowning imagery to convey what would be lost through comprehensivization: schools would be 'submerged'; 'we throw overboard the grammar school.' As usual there is a concern that 'tip top people' will suffer without any awareness that not all of the audience listening defined themselves and their children through this language. Davies insists however the selection is inevitable and draws on Christian duties to remind the audience there is 'no 11th commandment against it.'²⁸⁰ Miles, who had begun contributing to BBC programmes in 1954, was the one voice on the

²⁷⁹ See note 273.

²⁸⁰ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T159, Fis-Fit.

programme in favour of comprehensives in this June 1958 broadcast and the only contributor with direct experience of a comprehensive school headship. All the other speakers were drawn from grammar school and technical or industrial educational expertise. As the only woman brought into any such direct debates with CEOs in this period, she also considered herself to have been somewhat tricked in the process of making this broadcast. After making what she understood was to be a recorded discussion, she later realized it was to be broadcast without her editorial consent. She wrote to producer George Macbeth expressing her concern and yet also betraying the awkward tone of appreciation that it was unusual to have any women in her position given a voice on the BBC in this period:

‘Knowing that we were only recording I found I felt rather too carefree, especially after that extra gin and French, so I hope I haven’t said things I shall regret or shall get across the LCC ... perhaps you can cut some of the worst bits! ... I enjoyed the evening much more than any other broadcast I have done because of the happy lack of a sense of urgency. Thank you for asking me to join in.’²⁸¹

Social mobility is not touched upon in any of Wolfenden’s on air broadcast and from his own memoirs Wolfenden is a clear supporter of his own grammar school education in early twentieth century England and suspicious of what he refers to as ‘sociological theorizing.’²⁸² Wolfenden did not have responsibilities as a CEO so he did not have a professional responsibility to protect or question the unfolding of the 1944 Act. In his 1956 Overseas broadcast ‘Training for Technocracy: the Age of Decision’, Wolfenden commends the improvements in grammar school education since the 1944 Act but he had an ear to the ASG as a ‘talking shop.’²⁸³ However, his published writings from the postwar period do allow for occasional barbed remarks that never make it onto the BBC. For instance in published work Wolfenden argued for a greater state commitment to developing boarding school education while in an aside remarking: ‘there is growing inside the national system a demarcation of

²⁸¹ BBC WAC, BBC WAC, RCont: Margaret Miles, File 1, 1954–1962, Miles to Macbeth, 29/6/58.

²⁸² J. F. Wolfenden, *Turning Points: the memoirs of John Wolfenden* (London: Bodley Head, 1976), 18.

²⁸³ ASG/1/17, Meeting Papers 1981, Correspondence between Lindsay and Mary Ollis discussing Maud’s knowledge of the group prior to his joining, Newsam Archives IoE/UCL. Quote ‘talking Shop’ is from Auriol Stevens’s description of the ASG as a ‘peerless talking shop’, in conversation with Lottie Hoare, March 2013.

academic castes at a ridiculously early age.²⁸⁴ This could be interpreted as a jibe at the eleven-plus but his position on that exam is not heard in BBC broadcast. Alternatively, his remark could be explained by his concern voiced on Overseas broadcast six years later that academic snobberies were developing between scientists and technologists exacerbated by early specialization in English secondary education, here again he uses the wording: ‘at a ridiculously early age.’²⁸⁵ Overall there is very little forward-looking speculation about the future of education in Wolfenden’s broadcast contributions. His Overseas offerings in particular seek to remind the audience of the tradition of England’s educational past, including a 1954 London Calling Asia transmission that sings the praises of nineteenth century Rugby headmaster Thomas Arnold and his concern for the education of character. No parallel documentary coverage of schools either for radio or television was making space for contemporary head teachers and their immediate experience of the moral or intellectual development of their students. When headteachers spoke they were usually the ASG’s Rée, Cammaerts and James and they spoke about schooling in general terms as part of a crusade to improve the nation.

Technical and Secondary Modern Schools

Technical Schools received some coverage on BBC radio from 1953–1959, but they were rarely the subjects of programmes that scrutinized the actual technical schools. More often spokespeople from technical schools were on air discussing particular careers, for instance, Frank Holroyd, headmaster of Southall Secondary School, discussed work in the engineering industry on ‘Woman’s Hour’ in 1955, and schools radio and television would occasionally cover the preparation of young people for trade and industry. Fisher’s Series of programmes on secondary schooling from 1954 did give voice to an occasional technical school head teacher such as Kenneth Hutton, from the Hatfield Technical School. Here again Hertfordshire is used to suggest the national audience be reassured by something specific to Hutton’s experience in that county. Echoing Lester Smith, from the late 1940s in correspondence with Benzie, Hutton insisted to the audience that parents are increasingly giving up on their preference for grammar schools. The programme also edited in the voices of children

²⁸⁴ J. F. Wolfenden *The Public Schools Today: a study in boarding education* (University of London Press Ltd, 1948), 109.

²⁸⁵ BBC WAC, Microfilm Radio Script Reel: T660 With–Wom.

content with their courses and with opportunities to transfer to technical school at 13. The message from the young was that, despite initial disappointment at not being in grammar schools, they have managed to find something within the existing system that works for them. There is a direct echo here with 'No Scholarship for Tom' and Barry Bucknell in the 'Teachers in the Witness Box' Series. The programme does rather come across as a rescue remedy trying to encourage satisfaction with what is available. Rée had also been recently broadcasting on European telling a quite different story of how 2 percent of the country would attend technical schools and 80 percent secondary moderns. Similarly in 1956 Earl Halsbury, National Research Development Corporation Director, was discussing Technical Education in English schools on the Overseas with a frankness no national audience would get to witness.

Frederick Lincoln Ralphs was a believer in state education developing its commitment to boarding school education. A President of the National Union of Students in his youth, Ralphs was CEO for Norfolk from 1950–1974. A Methodist and lay preacher Lincoln Ralphs was never a member of the ASG but did attend one meeting as a guest. He was involved with the formation of the state boarding school Wymondham College in 1951, which merged a technical and grammar school to form a state boarding school. His first involvement with broadcasting came in 1954 when he was to be heard answering questions from the 'under-twenties' in 'Younger Generation Question Time'. His name had been put forward a few years earlier, however, when Rowntree had been present at a meeting of grammar school teachers asking for more advocates of grammar schools to be heard on air.²⁸⁶ A flurry of involvement in broadcasting then occurred for Lincoln Ralphs between 1954 and 1959 in programme Series such as 'Parents and Children' and occasionally 'The Brains Trust'. Eileen Molony, a producer in the Talks Department with a longstanding interest in education, was very supportive of Lincoln Ralphs as a broadcaster and thought he dealt with the public 'fairly and sympathetically'.²⁸⁷ He was initially heralded by several BBC staff as a more appropriate choice to speak about education on air than Longland. He was considered to be a skilled broadcaster

²⁸⁶ See page 71, note 162.

²⁸⁷ Eileen Molony (1914-1982) was a BBC producer working first in radio and later television. She later produced 'The Expanding Classroom' (1969) tx:13.4.69 BBC 1, which looked at the impact of the recommendations of the Plowden Report on schools.

but also a refreshing change from Longland who there was concern had been heard on air ‘Ad Nauseum.’²⁸⁸

Ralphs was involved with ‘Parents and Children’ broadcasts on Network 3 and here he puts forward himself in 1957 as an unquestioning supporter of IQ as a scientific measurement of intelligence. Ralphs was also taken to task by members of the audience as someone who was too prone to blaming parents for the fuss surrounding the eleven-plus and the subject of comprehensives often seems to have presented the opportunity for some anguished visualisation. When questioned by Roy Nash as to the concern parents had that middle class children in secondary moderns would be exposed to influences not suited to their class, Ralphs brushed over such a concern insisting the influence of the home was paramount. He continued to insist that intelligence cannot be affected by coaching throughout his broadcasting career and in general seems to present himself as an optimistic pacifier in situations rather than really exploring the depth of feeling that could be voiced in communities. In another ‘Parents and Children’ broadcast he suggests that parents encourage their children to stay on and take exams in the secondary modern school in order to help ‘the prestige’ of that type of school without any apparent awareness of the competing forces facing young people or the possibilities of being at work at boosting family incomes. Large sections of the transcripts of recordings made for Ralphs’ programmes were slashed through with pencil ensuring drastic cuts were made to edit programmes down and in time perhaps the phasing out of Lincoln Ralphs as a broadcaster took place because over time it was perceived that he did not communicate with the audience with any more sense of imagining their predicaments than the high handed Fisher or the temperamental Longland who was often angling for a higher fee and increased travel expenses.

One 1956 transmission of an episode of the popular BBC television fiction Series, ‘Dixon of Dock Green’ addressed the eleven-plus with a tiny final mention of technical schools. Dixon of Dock Green portrayed life in a London police station. The plot of the episode entitled *Eleven Plus* concerned a quiet and hardworking daughter Jane Muir who received a ‘careful diet with ample protein and vitamins’ and who impressed her parents by telling them she had passed the eleven-plus. Her mother ‘didn’t exactly relish the thought of her going to that dreadful secondary modern

²⁸⁸ BBC WAC Jack Longland File III (1957–62).

school in the High Road'. The programme concerned the sudden and rather menacing disappearance of Jane whose satchel is found by the riverbank and who it is revealed accepted a lift from a local man who then becomes a suspect in her disappearance. When Jane is found and to ease her 'nervous exhaustion' is given tea to drink, her 'tremulous little smile' is one factor that leads the police officer Dixon to the hunch that she has lied to her mother about passing the exam. Dixon confronts her: 'Don't be afraid dear ... it's not very important, you know ... you will get a good schooling whether you pass or not. It's what you do when you leave school that really matters.' Jane then admits to her father how she had not even finished the exam. Her father is gentle and tender and says it was his experience also. Women in this episode were presented as prone to grandiose expectations and men as the realists. Dixon narrates the ending of the episode however with the reassurance that Jane will be going to the technical school and a reminder that whatever the trouble 'it usually begins at home.'²⁸⁹

In ASG discussions during the mid 1940s, Dent had predicted that the secondary modern school faced a struggle because it was so closely associated with the pre-war Elementary schools, which had been considered beneath the sphere of culture.²⁹⁰ Dent pushed for the secondary modern school to be allowed to build a tradition, which offered both a common core and the opportunity to develop skills useful for the community around it. It has already been conveyed how little scrutiny the BBC gave the secondary modern in the immediate postwar years and further silence may have allowed doubt to ferment. Speaking on air in 1954, W H Perkins implies that if secondary modern schools could be visually more enticing then they would not be so readily berated. In the words of Perkins:

'If modern schools had better buildings and better trained staff, a smart blazer and bigger playing fields – and a better brass band – then people wouldn't want Latin they would be happy with trombone ... if we can get the material and personal surroundings into something like comparative

²⁸⁹ BBC WAC Microfilms for Television, Film 17/18 Light Entertainment.

²⁹⁰ ASG/1/3. See note 258 for further details.

situations I think we might get rid of the idea that the academic mind is the admirable mind’²⁹¹

Such assertions betray an assumption that most people were interested in short-term comforts rather than the long-term qualifications of their children. Secondary moderns were presented at times as if to an audience who were understood by BBC programme makers to be comforted by consuming material things.

Analysis of the experience of secondary modern schools did not receive the attention of entire radio broadcasts for a national or even regional audience until 1956 but in 1953, several months after the death of Stalin and of the East Berlin uprisings against Communist rule, Rée was presenting his scrutiny of secondary modern and schools on European. Rée told an initially rather melancholic story of John who was aware that he had failed the eleven-plus but didn’t want to disappoint his parents by letting on what he was already aware of during the five-week wait for results. When news that he was going to the secondary modern arrived ‘there was gloom in the household for days after.’ Rée then presented a slightly more upbeat outlook describing the school play that John becomes involved with at his secondary school: ‘His parents came to watch him act, and were immensely proud of him, though they didn’t like the working class accent he was picking up.’ Such a comment, which directly touches on class aspirations and secondary education was absent from national and regional BBC coverage but for some reason considered acceptable for the Overseas audience. Rée then embarked on a detailed description of the secondary modern curriculum, involving the kind of level of detail, which was not shared with contemporary national and regional audiences – perhaps because of the perceived danger that the audience might write in and comment that these descriptions did not necessarily match their local provision. Rée painted the picture of lively and varied schooling in the absence of exam pressure: practical lessons, walking tours and trips to hotels, studying geography ‘in the mountains and valleys and history in the churches and castles.’²⁹²

Francis Cammaerts involvement in BBC coverage of secondary education was slowly developing in the early 1950s when he was involved with ‘The Younger

²⁹¹ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio script reel: T159, Fis–Fit. W H Perkins worked with the British Association for the Advancement of Science to advance science education in the 1950s and 1960s.

²⁹² BBC WAC Microfilm Radio script reel T432 Red–Reg.

Generation' programmes on Light. He was regularly appearing on Light in these years but having also broadcast on European he did ask some wry questions as to why payment on Light was so much less. A close friend of Rée, Cammaerts had also been in the Special Operations Executive and returned to teaching in 1952, soon becoming headmaster of Alleyne's Grammar School, Stevenage.²⁹³ His first programme, which specifically focused on secondary moderns came in 1955: 'The Early School Leaving Age.' Yet again Fisher was chair. Two other headmasters from Kent and Lancashire were involved, along with Sir Ronald Nesbitt Hawes, Chairman of the Secondary School Leaving Committee of the Federation of British Industries. Cammaerts was very much concerned to emphasize how his pupils want to stay on and get as many qualifications as possible. The argument was also expressed that those who are not selected for grammar school should have as much opportunity for advanced level courses as others but it was suggested there was generally too much attention given to measurement. The subsequent correspondence unleashed in *The Listener* letters pages in 1955 used the opportunity of this programme to attack secondary moderns directly: 'the secondary modern school is ... a failure ... no shred of rational theory behind the emphasis on practical activities ... the next generation will leave school with little more than the ability to make scrambled eggs and a toast rack.'²⁹⁴

The dispute simmered on in print with correspondents observing over the next few weeks: 'the failure of the secondary modern school will mean the failure of democracy!'; 'the 1944 Act with its egalitarian ideas accompanied by parrot-cries of secondary education for all! Threw us to the wolves!' Over the ensuing months the dispute eventually wound down into a conflict about the child who is no longer willing to work in a blast furnace because it has spent too much time listening to popular music and watching films since the school leaving age was raised and asks whether all children, even those destined for blast furnaces, need to acquire a meaning and purpose in life through education.²⁹⁵ Cammaerts was on the Light Series 'P's and Q's' in February 1956, bringing together head teachers and a Director of Education in another attempt at a rehabilitation exercise on the variety of work that goes on in

²⁹³ Francis Cammaerts was educated at St Catherine's College, Cambridge and registered as a conscientious objector before Rée persuaded him to join the war effort. The two became friends working at Beckenham and Penge Grammar School, London. Alleyne's was a LEA Grammar School in Hertfordshire in the 1950s when Cammaerts led it but as a school could trace its history back to 1558.

²⁹⁴ *The Listener*, 17 March 1955, page 483.

²⁹⁵ *The Listener*, the dispute plays out in the letters pages until 7 April 1955, page 621.

secondary moderns. Again the geographical remit of the three head teachers featured was familiar or closely linked to the experience of the London area with contributors from: Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Surrey.

Unauthored BBC paperwork circulated to staff in 1956 again emphasized that more could be done to encourage the public to be more satisfied with secondary modern education. This BBC News Information Service document articulated its perceived responsibility to encourage public understanding of the eleven-plus but in wording that may have implied to insiders at the BBC some mistrust of those protecting the Act itself: 'Much of the criticism of the 11+ examination would be stifled if parents were as certain of the excellence of the secondary modern school as were sponsors of the Education Act.'²⁹⁶ Whether or not the wording hints at the same mistrust of educational 'cant' or 'bureaucratic apologists' which BBC staff, Joseph Weltman and Percy Newby, understood to be the Achilles heels of educationalists, the BBC began to make programmes which tried to convey some optimism about the secondary modern schools while at the same time allowing critics space to kick any inklings of a progressive agenda in education.²⁹⁷

Early in 1957, Blishen dedicated a radio programme to the topic of secondary moderns, and then Fisher, Rowe, Clegg and Robin Pedley also stepped in to speculate on the topic a few weeks later in response to Blishen's initial broadcast in 1957. Blishen had at this stage only become recently involved with BBC broadcasting after publishing his own reflections on Secondary Modern teaching: *Roaring Boys*. In *The Listener* his programmes were illustrated with images of upbeat engagement in science between staff and pupils (Figure 52). The headmaster of Holmer Green Secondary School, A. Rowe, praised the secondary modern for developing individuals as 'the sort of people that are going to be able to take their place in a democracy in due course.' Clegg voiced his concerns in this programme that secondary modern schools are promoted as better schools if housed in new buildings. He praised secondary moderns for striking a balance between the kindling of fires and the filling of pots in the way young people learn. He also hinted cryptically that his own authority was building 'all kinds of schools' and that, more than 12 years on from the 1944 Act, it was not advisable to assume that the Tripartite system will be the pattern of education in the future. Pedley insisted that Clegg's pleas that the LEAs need more

²⁹⁶ BBC WAC, T32/1832/2: Unauthored typed document titled 'BBC News Information Service.'

²⁹⁷ BBC WAC, RCont1: Bantock G H, File 1, 1946–1962. Correspondence dated 1957.

time to develop their strategy could not ignore that the Tripartite System is based on a misguided premise that children can be divided into three categories. Fisher concludes the programme with a reminder that Pedley's views are 'radical' and that the general consensus is 'we had better not pull the plant up to see how the roots are getting on.'²⁹⁸

Fisher's placing of Pedley as 'radical' fitted with the approach of many at the BBC in the 1950s. The son of a stonemason, and himself a graduate of Durham University, Pedley had taught at a Quaker boarding school and been a conscientious objector during World War Two. Since 1947 he worked in the department of Education at the University of Leicester. Pedley did not fit neatly into the tribe of either the BBC or ASG networks. Unlike his colleague at Leicester, Simon, he had no communist party links, but nor did he have links to elite power networks in his background. He had no connection with the Armed Forces, Advisory Council Committees or Oxford University. The extent to which BBC attempts to exclude Pedley from broadcasting because of a perceived arrogance on his part that he alone had devised workable solutions to the Tripartite system's problems is difficult to gauge, but one thing that is very apparent from the archival records is that Pedley was actively kept out of discussion programmes. In 1954 Margueritte Scott confirmed that he was not to be involved in secondary education discussion programmes because Scupham and Fisher had already chosen the speakers. In 1956 Scupham voiced in no uncertain terms that Pedley's outlook was a time-wasting upset to the Tripartite applecart. Again his point was supported by discussion with another ASG member:

'Lester Smith rang me up the other day about the advisability of letting Pedley say a piece in one of the News talks Magazines. I was not happy about him in that context since the book starts from pre-suppositions of the extreme left, makes some very doubtful assumptions, sets out a plan which is unlikely to command wide support, and still less likely to be carried into effect, and is infact a piece of highly controversial writing.'²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ BBC WAC Microfilm radio script reel: T159 Fis-Fit.

²⁹⁹ BBC WAC, Contributors Talks File 1: Pedley, Robin 1950-1962, Scupham to Weltman, 23.9.56. The book referred to in quoted letter is: Robin Pedley *Comprehensive Education: A New Approach* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1956)

Later in the year Scupham was again to write disparagingly of Pedley ‘I thought myself that Sir Eric James disposed of him fairly effectively in *The Spectator*, but notice that he had bobbed up in the correspondence columns with an aggrieved air about this review.’³⁰⁰ Pedley’s exclusion from BBC coverage of the Leicestershire Plan will also be discussed later in this chapter.

It is significant to look at the sequencing of programmes early in 1957 in light not only of concurrent non-fiction programme making for television but also in relation to fictional coverage of secondary education issues in the form of television drama. Fictional coverage is not the subject of this study but with occasional exceptions. Elaine Morgan’s BBC play ‘Eleven-Plus’, broadcast in 1957, was referred to by BBC staff as ‘more documentary than drama.’ It also suggested how fiction, closely based on real experience, could sometimes be a space, which allowed for more blunt dialogue within the BBC even though ultimately contentment with the secondary moderns was advised. Morgan also put much emphasis on staffrooms or domestic settings as the spaces in which her story unfolded. She was chided by BBC staff when she first submitted the script, for excessive use of montage. The montages that have survived in the archived script however show images of anguish not from school but within the home. (Figure 53) Children who have delighted or disappointed themselves or their parents through exam success: ‘A girl with her dinner pushed back out of the way ... sobbing, inconsolable.’ The script suggests that the middle class child with a mother who assumes she will pass the eleven-plus should be represented by: ‘close ups of [the child’s] incongruous minimode velvet collar coat on junior coat hanger’ rather than any classroom scenes that show a child learning in that context.³⁰¹

Audience Research revealed that Morgan’s play received a high reaction index.³⁰² In January 1957 Elaine Morgan’s ‘Eleven-Plus’ had received popular letters of support from the public and from academics at the Institute of Education.³⁰³ The play told the story of a Welsh community all wanting their children to be selected for the grammar school but who have children attending a primary school run by a head teacher who does not believe in cramming and getting into debt buying Encyclopedias: ‘children of that age need their minds and interests widened, not narrowed down to drag them through the bottleneck of an arbitrary examination.’ The

³⁰⁰ Ibid., Scupham to Weltman, 16.10.56.

³⁰¹ Quotations from BBC WAC T48/437/1: Elaine Morgan & Films 31/32 TV Drama Scripts.

³⁰² BBC WAC, Audience Research Report, ‘Eleven Plus,’ A Play by Elaine Morgan (1920–2013)

³⁰³ BBC WAC T48/437/1, Morgan to Donald Wilson (script supervisor, television), undated.

progressive elements of the primary school are gently parodied as the infant class teacher contends with music and movement and children who fill wellington boots with cement.³⁰⁴ Some characters in the play crave more arithmetic and dismiss dressing up as an educational activity. The main character of the play was a Cambridge educated widow who finds herself working in a primary school despite her relative inexperience because the school is obligated to take married women returners. Initially contemptuous of the curriculum in her place of work, she slowly comes to see the head teacher's point of view. She presumed her own daughter Barbara will pass the eleven-plus but in the event Barbara who has already been attracted to the newly constructed secondary modern school with its outdoor spaces and gardening lessons, falls ill with mumps on the day of the exam and the play ends with her declaring 'I have failed! I can feed the rabbits.'³⁰⁵ The actual play script marks these words to be uttered 'tragically' but the play itself does not entirely imply this is a tragic event. There is no clear-cut moral message of democratic triumph or of knowing your place in this surviving script. It is more an attempt at social realism, which draws on real experiences and hints at the element of chance when a single day's performance dictates where a child's education will subsequently take place. Barbara was the child heroine of the story. Barbara's attachment to the natural world that she will encounter through her secondary modern education, was perhaps a stance which the playwright herself had some sympathy with as she had brought up her own children in a rural setting without modern conveniences and sent them to Welsh speaking schools. Morgan, the author, was herself a product of a grammar school.³⁰⁶

Alongside Morgan's play the other transmission of note in early 1957 came in February when Robert Mackenzie's documentary on the subject of secondary moderns 'A Challenge to Education' which was broadcast on BBC television. Audience Research figures also showed a comparably high reaction from the audience, similar to that of Morgan's play and in both instances this was taken to reveal a public appetite for greater coverage of secondary education in light of the 'abnormally large volume of spontaneous comment.' Mackenzie had made it clear to the BBC that although this was a Series about different types of schools; he was only

³⁰⁴ BBC WAC Films 31/32 TV Drama Scripts.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., Morgan wanted the script to specify that this central character was from Newnham College, Cambridge but BBC staff vetoed this detail.

³⁰⁶ Born Elaine Floyd in Pontypridd, Wales, the daughter of a welsh coalminer; educated Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. Chair: Oxford University Democratic Socialist Club. Taught for WEA. Married French teacher Morien Morgan; brought up sons in Wales while working as an author.

interested in being involved with the episode on secondary modern schools. The programme, the first in a Series on schooling, was billed ‘for all parents’:

‘For the first time on television in this country viewers are to have the chance to go behind the scenes and get to know some of the educational machinery of Britain ... these are not cosy little programmes which commend all that is good and conveniently leave any resident skeletons peacefully at rest in quiet cupboards with much thumbed, outdated text books.’³⁰⁷

The Listener illustrated the ‘Critic on the Heath’ section with a promotional still of a secondary modern art class taken from MacKenzie’s programme, echoing the earlier image of Stanley Spencer in a secondary modern classroom (Figure 49), but this time no famous artist fits in the frame. Instead the audience is shown the back of pupils’ heads while a group is busy painting, some at easels and some in the background appear to be contributing to either a shared painting or a small mural. At the edges of the frame of the image at least one pupil is visible facing in a different direction to the rest and moving towards the viewer. Rows don’t dominate here (Figure 54). *The Listener* does not give over any written word text to the discussion of Mackenzie’s programme but the BBC files reveal that the programme was built around knowledge gleaned from meetings of the College of Preceptors.³⁰⁸ The programme had been developing in the previous 15 months before it was actually broadcast and Gilman, the Series editor, sought in his initial correspondence a school in an old building with few floors and wide corridors, presumably to make filming easier. He also announced his intention to work with ‘a headmaster who deliberately chose to work in such a school as this rather than to have things all his own way in a festival of Britain palace ... and with an active interest in PTAs ...’ echoing Benzie’s concerns to Lester Smith eight years earlier.³⁰⁹ This suggests some reservations, by certain BBC staff, about stories told and re-told by a chosen circle of educationists who took precedence in broadcast coverage of secondary education.

³⁰⁷ BBC WAC, TVOBs T14/242 ‘A Challenge to Education’: 1955–57.

³⁰⁸ The College of Preceptors, also known as The Society of Teachers; founded in the 1840s, in Brighton, by Henry Stein Turrell. It sought to standardize the teaching profession and pioneer formal training by examination for teachers. It also pioneered exams for pupils. For most of the twentieth century it was based in Bloomsbury Square London before moving to IoE/UCL in 2003.

³⁰⁹ BBC WAC, TVOBs T14/242: Gilman to ‘Senior Education Officer,’ 25.10.55.

In the event a newly built school in Middlesex was chosen as the subject of the programme. Parents were given a voice in the programme criticizing the school for not testing mental dexterity and paying no attention to the development of character. Mackenzie as narrator also queries why boys are being allowed to do house craft when they could be getting down to the three Rs, another echo of Newsom's gender divide as articulated in 1948. In Audience Research findings for this programme, the level of detail given in the programmes and the visibility of children 'actually doing things' was considered most welcome. However there were letters expressing that the programme lasting half an hour was too short, that more should have been revealed to the audience about the actual secondary modern curriculum, that the architectural newness of this particular secondary modern was unusual and not representative of young people's experience. A chemist responded to the programme with a question as to whether once these young people have left school they will ever have an opportunity of using such modern equipment in work or at home: 'I fear we are pouring money into education for the sake of it'. Many favoured Mackenzie's energy as a presenter but one teacher objected to his fast-talking ebullient presence and 'distasteful' American accent (it was actually Canadian) spoiling the programme.³¹⁰ Some viewers took comfort that the programme mentioned that transfer to other schools from the secondary modern was possible. The BBC was involved here in sharing the message that perhaps the Tripartite system was not as fixed and divisive as parents often perceived.

John Mackay's Home broadcast on the Norfolk State boarding school in September 1957 described the school as housed in 'a pleasant nineteenth century country house.' Mackay explained how Norfolk could not afford to build secondary modern schools scattered about the rural area so many children have remained in elementary schools despite the promises of the 1944 Act. It promoted temporary state boarding at Holt Hall to allow secondary modern children from a wide-ranging rural area to learn to live as a community for their last term at school. The accompanying photographs when the article is illustrated in *The Listener* show girls learning to weave and hanging out the washing while the boys mend bikes and clean the girls' shoes (Figure 55). The emphasis on being 'community minded' with people their own age is in stark contrast to Morris's village college movement, to the South of Norfolk,

³¹⁰ BBC WAC, Audience Research Report: 'A Challenge to Education', 1.2.57.

which focused on life-long education. The search for methods by which the democratization of young people can be fostered draws on similar intentions, but a dissimilar commitment to cost and continuity. The Holt Hall programme generated no published correspondence to *The Listener*.³¹¹

Comprehensive Schools

On the topic of comprehensives Fisher again had a regular involvement in BBC programme making in this period. This resulted in opportunities for supporters of the comprehensive school movement to have their voices heard on air being profoundly limited. Fisher as Chair had the last word on air summing up the broadcast discussions and warning ‘experiment might result in destroying what has been built up over centuries’.³¹² Of course Fisher was not the only individual shaping the agenda here. BBC correspondence files reveal a determined stance adopted by BBC programme makers to ensure that comprehensive schools got little coverage. They were presented as something which may play a part in the future of education but which was currently regarded as a regional anomaly.

As previously discussed, Miles was the comprehensive school headmistress most regularly heard in BBC broadcast during the 1950s. When she was invited to discuss ‘Is the comprehensive school the answer?’, on Home in 1954, the preparatory correspondence for this programme was circulated only between Fisher and Rée, excluding Clegg, Chin and Miles all of whom had sympathies, to a varying degree, for comprehensive schools.³¹³ Miles was always given more space for programme making on comprehensives during the 1950s than any other individual. She was given her own monologue programme in 1957 and a two and a half page essay in *The Listener*, which provoked some letters complaining about the danger of an ‘impersonality’ developing in comprehensives on account of their size and a concern about public address systems: ‘canned voices ... there to manoeuvre artificial agglomerations of persons.’³¹⁴ Miles continued to be asked on to BBC discussion programmes including ‘Woman’s Hour.’

³¹¹ The article on Holt Hall appeared in *The Listener* 3 October 1957, page 507, but no correspondence concerning this article was printed in subsequent issues.

³¹² BBC WAC Microfilm radio script reel: T159 Fis–Fit.

³¹³ BBC WAC RCont: Margaret Miles, File 1, 1954–1962.

³¹⁴ *The Listener* 11 July 1957, pages 52–53.

Other comprehensive head teachers were silenced during this six-year period, even those at the helm of London comprehensive schools such as Walworth, Kidbrooke and Woodberry Down.³¹⁵ The heads of these schools would not have had a long journey to broadcasting house to share their views but Miles became the spokesperson for the whole concept and practice of comprehensives. One reason for this can probably be traced to Maclure's remark that Miles had an advantage because she had 'inherited a tradition.'³¹⁶ In other words she was working in a space, which, as a former grammar school, had a clearly defined history of selection on the basis of academic merit. Mayfield comprehensive evolved from a grammar school, rather than being purpose built, as Kidbrooke and Woodberry Down comprehensives were. Walworth meanwhile had evolved as an 'experimental' comprehensive in 1946, in buildings which had formerly housed a Central School and it received no BBC coverage at all. Miles had long established networks, which possibly made her appear particularly trustworthy in the eyes of the BBC. Perhaps most significantly she wore her socialism lightly enough and repeatedly uttered her conviction that a grammar school could live on sheltered within a comprehensive environment.

The deliberate shunning of experienced comprehensive school head teachers from the airwaves is made apparent in 1954. Lovett, the first head teacher of the pioneering comprehensive school in Anglesey, which had already been active during World War Two, volunteered to give his views in response to James's broadcasts. Like James, Lovett had been published in *The Schoolmaster* and *Times Educational Supplement* but when it came to the BBC his advances were rejected, despite the support of local BBC networks in Wales who wrote in support of Lovett presenting his perspectives in response to James.³¹⁷ Lovett had been involved with BBC broadcasting before on the topic of comprehensive education. In 1944 he had discussed comprehensives with a particular emphasis on technical education.³¹⁸

³¹⁵ Both Mary Green and Harriet Chetwynd are rarely heard or mentioned in BBC discussions of secondary education in the period 1953–1959 despite their both leading high profile purpose built London comprehensives. Green did appear in 1958 in a Light broadcast 'At the Top' tx: 23.12.58, but is not named in the *Radio Times* listings and in one Overseas European programme discussing comprehensives tx: 29.5.56. Chetwynd did not appear on BBC broadcast until the 1960s.

³¹⁶ Stuart Maclure, *One Hundred Years of London Education 1870–1970* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970), 173.

³¹⁷ BBC WAC R51/130/8, Education Talks Files 5&6 1947–1954: Hywel Davies (Assistant Head of Programmes, Cardiff) to Rowley, 8.1.54.

³¹⁸ See pages 72–73.

Savage was another advocate of comprehensive education who made a controversial appearance on Home to discuss the potential abolition of the eleven-plus in Kent. *The Case against the Eleven-Plus* also made it into the pages of *The Listener* in the form of an unusually short and succinct essay, which did not match the predictable layout of this magazine.³¹⁹ Savage had been an ASG member in the founding years but was not included on the membership list by 1959 so presumably had let his membership lapse by the late 1950s, perhaps when Armfelt died. Whatever the timing of his allegiances to the ASG he certainly did not have the authority that James had in the BBC in broadcasting a message about the future of secondary schooling. Both Somerville and Scupham were alarmed by Savage's direct challenge to the status quo making it onto the airwaves and while acknowledging that Savage's knighthood made it acceptable on one level, they regretted that someone whose views against the eleven-plus were so well known had been given a platform. They requested consideration of a list of speakers who would 'controvert Sir Graham.'³²⁰ Letters to *The Listener* were largely supportive of Savage's communications, including those from H E Green and Joan Simon. Green observed that the records of eminent men who were late developers like Churchill or Darwin 'would not have matured under such a rigid system.' However, the county of Kent did not abolish the eleven-plus and some letters did express indignation about the idea of children being equally educable. The published correspondence relating to this programme ends with H Lloyd Jones, professor of Greek at the University of Oxford, being given the last word. He remarks of Savage: 'the emotional and illogical nature of his arguments is not likely to recommend his views to reasonable people.'³²¹

It is important to recognize that an increasing concern for the visual in broadcasting does not only come about in television. The way education is discussed on radio shows an increasing interest in setting up visual scenes in words to convey impressions about secondary education. For example, E B Castle, in the fifth episode of a discussion programme on secondary schooling broadcast in June 1954, takes a stance familiar in programmes in the period. This is a Series of programmes where Fisher was Chair. Castle places the blame with parents and accuses them of making themselves unhappy about selection. In order to provide some extra scaremongering

³¹⁹ *The Listener*, 10 November 1955, page 789.

³²⁰ BBC WAC, R51/130/8, Somerville to Green, 11.11.55.

³²¹ *The Listener*, Jul-Dec 1955 letters appear between pages 897-941.

about the unsettling and un-English possibilities of the comprehensive school he shared a descriptive memory as if he was sharing a nightmare and anticipating interpretation from the audience:

‘I am reminded of an experience I had in New York in a vast comprehensive there. I went to see the headmaster who was quite appropriately called the Superintendent. I entered a vast room packed with shiny card indexes – the headmaster was a dim spot in the distance, surrounded by secretaries with the ‘have you cleaned your teeth today?’ look about them. And he was running the school from that vast office. Well we shant have things like that here.’³²²

Descriptive scenes of what actually happened in schools in England and Wales are not regularly shared with the audience in this period and the above example of exaggerated recollections of foreign difference are more usual than descriptions of local contemporary practice.

When comprehensive schools crop up as a theme in programmes which are concerned with secondary education more widely, Fisher and Rée shoot down the arguments as if they were hammering at upstart ideas. Fisher insists that teachers would not work hard without the eleven-plus and Rée insists that there is ‘so much blooming organization’ in comprehensives that time for teaching is reduced. The dialogue between the two men flows fast and betrays their prior discussions to ensure the fighting of their corner was united. Fisher argues on the topic of comprehensives that you are pulling in contradictory directions with a secondary modern and grammar merged. Rée quips quickly ‘You cancel each other out.’ Fisher responds ‘You hit nowhere.’ Chinn and Miles are blindsided by the rehearsed word play and end up talking together so that the audience cannot hear how they respond.³²³ Humphrey Berkeley (1926–1994) was called upon here to speak against direct challenges to the Tripartite system. Educated at Malvern College and Pembroke College Cambridge, Berkeley was a friend of RAB Butler and a pro European conservative who campaigned to de-criminalise homosexuality. He had been rusticated from Cambridge for writing hoax letters under the guise of a Public School headmaster, and rarely spoke on matters of education on the BBC. However, he also made a broadcast on

³²² BBC WAC Microfilm Radio Scripts reel: T159 Fis–Fit.

³²³ Ibid.,

Home in March 1956 conveying serious doubts about the prospect of comprehensive schools becoming a widespread phenomenon. He dismissed them as small children struggling against the weight of tradition.³²⁴

For the years 1953–1959, there was infrequent discussion of social class on radio discussion programmes or television documentaries about secondary education. The *Light* programme did make space for Blishen and Miles to discuss the published research of Floud, Halsey and Martin in January 1957. The ‘Social Class and Educational Opportunity report’ is referred to on air as discussing ‘among other points the question of why parents prefer their children to go to grammar schools’. The report is introduced as focusing on two starkly contrasting areas, industrial Yorkshire and South West Hertfordshire. LSE is referred to but the nature of this sociological enquiry is not divulged further. No reference is made to the findings of the report suggesting that opportunities for working class boys to get into grammar school had not increased since the 1944 Act. In the three weeks prior to this programme, Mark Abrams had been regularly discussing social class on *Home* in evening broadcasts. However, when it came to educational figures involved with secondary schools commenting on the new research the topic of education as it directly applies to social class is brushed over with a number of oblique references. Miles observes that the report shows us ‘parents’ attitudes are of tremendous importance’ when it comes to whether their children are going to fail or succeed at the eleven-plus examination. She applauded the sympathetic attitude of parents in supporting children, not the over pressurized attitude, but social class itself is not spoken of directly only through Miles’s rather euphemistic language. Blishen applauded the secondary modern schools and all the alternative apprenticeship and non-professional pathways that people might find rewarding and he describes it as ‘odd’ that parents see grammar schools as a sign of success. Miles then sung the praises of the comprehensive. Both seemed intent on using the broadcasting space as an opportunity to promote their own fields of work rather than engaging with the actual findings of the report. Blishen pleads for more time for secondary modern schools to be allowed to develop and advises ‘I think one of the biggest changes

³²⁴ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T38, Ber–Bes.

parents could effect would be to abandon this prejudice against secondary modern schools.³²⁵

Blishen and Miles made some vague remarks about parental support being more important than bricks and mortar and material conditions but, for any member of the audience who has not actually read the report, the key findings do not even begin to be dissected in this discussion. The subtle interaction of the social influences of home and school and the limitations of social mobility which secondary education appeared to be fostering do not even merit a sentence from these two well-connected educators, both grammar school products themselves and linked through their own educations to figures who had enabled them to be drawn into the select carousel of voices who discussed education on radio.

Village Colleges and the Leicestershire Plan

The idea that regional variation in secondary education provision could merit national BBC coverage appears to have caused something of a headache to BBC programme makers in this period. In some instances this reticence relates to the imbalances of funding for secondary education in different regions of the country. Village colleges which were developing in Cambridgeshire received BBC coverage back in 1943 as part of the Overseas World War Two propaganda to elevate the status of England as a nation concerned with lifelong democratic education. Curiously no national coverage was dedicated to Village Colleges on Home until January 1955, the year after Morris had retired from his role as CEO. The 1943 programme had been a conversation between two people. This 1955 broadcast was a monologue. Morris described the environment he found in rural Cambridgeshire in the 1920s: ‘The magic of colour had not yet been discovered – grim browns and dark greens were the dominant decoration. Groups of children sat grave and silent with folded arms. The children listened. The teacher talked. It was education by discourse.’

In contrast to this dour description he then proceeded to describe how the village college acted as a community centre both during school hours and evenings to allow for learning across the generations. Nowhere in the broadcast are we introduced to any local voices or any impressions of how pupils or teachers remembered their educational experience. We are told instead about the praise Morris received from

³²⁵ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T123, Edd–Edu.

prestigious visitors such as Pevsner and Henry Clay. Morris then goes on to quote Robert Bridges the poet. None of this is particularly surprising given the assumptions of men of Morris's generation given the opportunity to reflect on their career but what sets this programme apart from the Overseas broadcast is the admission for the first time in BBC coverage that the Village Colleges were not entirely funded through the usual methods of LEA taxation:

‘So to make Sawston possible more than half the cost had to be met by gifts of land, money and equipment. Without the generosity of the Carnegie Trustees and other benefactors Sawston could not have been built and opened as it was, by the Prince of Wales. Three other Village Colleges, all assisted by substantial gifts of money and in kind, followed at Bottisham, Linton and Impington.’³²⁶

Morris's retirement as a CEO in 1954 was followed three years later by Newsom's retirement as CEO for Hertfordshire in 1957. During these years programme files convey a greater exasperation with key ASG figures such as Longland and Lindsay. The exasperation had been building for a while and is not entirely connected with Newsom moving to his new role at Longmans publishing but some synchronicity can be noted. In this new position he maintained his influence on broadcasting but in a different guise, as someone with a vested interest in shaping the content of educational literature rather than as someone keeping Hertfordshire on the map as a pioneering county for postwar educational development.

Across the 1950s Newsom appeared on television to discuss education although he was not consistently available when he was invited to be involved. In 1955 he was making a British Council Lecture Tour of Egypt as tensions were rising in the run up to the Suez Crisis. By the time of the crisis itself he was back in England contributing to 'Family Affairs' in 1956 and discussing the eleven-plus. Postgate, Controller of Educational Broadcasting, wrote to John Furness at Panorama recommending the use of Newsom on television in 1958 as he was 'stimulating and irritating'.³²⁷ Newsom was involved with broadcasts with Judith Hubback discussing her research on working mothers in this same year. His own correspondence outlines the prior

³²⁶ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T347 Morg-Morr.

³²⁷ BBC WAC BBC WAC John Newsom, TVArt 1: R.S. Postgate to John Furness, June 1958.

meetings he had had with Judith Hubback and his own concern that the man's point of view about working women was not to be given too much space. In Newsom's view this was because he might cause a 'riot' in the recording studio.³²⁸ His focus during 1953–1959 seems to have been increasingly to contribute to programmes about the future of women in society rather than schooling specifically.

There does appear to have been an intensification of interest at the BBC in bringing new voices to the airwaves during the mid 1950s but it does not appear to have been a point at which new broadcasters on education were brought in who had a lasting impact. Increasingly BBC communications suggested that certain ASG broadcasters had at times pushed themselves to the fore rather than allowing the BBC to commission people of their own choosing. It is not that they are identified as ASG members in the correspondence but the frustration about certain individuals of the group having space on the airwaves recurs. However, the ASG friendship circles do not lose their place in the transmission schedules entirely, it is rather that they are re-adjusted as certain CEOs approach retirement.

When Leicestershire piloted a particular model of secondary school provision, with Stewart Mason as CEO, the Leicestershire Plan did get a programme all to itself on Home in 1957. This was largely due to the BBC presenter Donald Milner's championing Maclure's interest in Leicestershire at that point in time, and Milner's attempts to persuade the BBC that the idea of choosing to either stay on at school at 14 and transferring to a grammar or leaving secondary modern school at this age was to put back some decision making in the realm of parent choice.³²⁹ The increased interest of BBC producer Joseph Weltman in educational matters also helped the programme to come about. Weltman joined the BBC in 1946 but much of his work was focused around language programmes and broadcasting French drama. Weltman had had scholarships at Manchester Grammar School and St Johns College Cambridge. He had then worked both as a teacher in Independent schools and in RAF intelligence during World War Two. The Leicestershire plan programme was envisaged by Maclure as an opportunity to bring together only ASG members: himself, Fisher and Newsom to confront Mason who was not a member of the group.

³²⁸ BBC WAC BBC WAC John Newsom, TVArt 1: Newsom to Beryl Radley, 26.3.58.

³²⁹ BBC WAC RCont: J Stuart Maclure, File 1: 1953–1962, Milner to P H Newby 26.4.57. Both Milner and Maclure were members of the Atheneum Club in London, as were other senior civil servants and ministers. See R. Pring & M. Roberts (eds.) *A Generation of Radical Educational Change: Stories from the field* (London: Routledge, 2015).

In the actual pre-recorded programme, Clegg and two headmasters from secondary modern and grammar schools respectively, Arrand and Davies, were included. Davies was included because BBC talks producer, Percy Newby insisted that the grammar school voice was not omitted from this programme.³³⁰

Mason wrote to Maclure explaining how he envisaged the programme as a kind of game of cricket where he would be 'in bat' giving others a chance to voice their 'dispositions.' He saw Clegg as a 'mystery man ... dashing around the field on a motorbike taking catches in the most unexpected places.' Unlike Fisher and Rée's prior planning to outwit Miles and the others in favour of comprehensives, Mason made it clear that this correspondence with Maclure was to be duplicated for the 'rest of the team.'³³¹ The surviving microfilmed script for this programme is in a poor state and difficult to read in places but what is immediately apparent is that Mason and Maclure's game of cricket develops as a conversation dominated by the two of them with occasional interjections from Arrand and Davies, often interjections that do little more than clarify the nature of the plan for the audience. Arrand also briefly plays down the idea that opposition to selection is widespread in education and voices concern that 14 is not a good age for an educational community to lose its 'natural leaders.'³³² Clegg barely spoke in the programme except to give figures on how the selection process of the eleven-plus generally was giving opportunities and denying opportunities to unsuitable candidates. The programme did not receive any printed summary in *The Listener* and was rescheduled from peak viewing listening times in September, to an earlier slot in August, to make allowances for what was considered a topic of greater public interest than the eleven-plus, an airshow.

The Leicestershire Plan received no other BBC radio coverage in the years up to 1959 but broadcaster and Norfolk CEO Lincoln Ralphs did remark in response to letters from the audience questioning why it received so little coverage: 'I would just say I hope that we will take more notice of the results of experiments rather than their initiation.'³³³ The familiar pattern in Lincoln Ralphs's broadcasts was to flip the questions around to imply that the tried and tested merited attention on air rather than innovation. Much to the wrath of Pedley, who understood himself to be the author of

³³⁰ BBC WAC RCont: S C Mason, File 1 1947–1962. Newby was to become the Controller of the Third Programme a year later, in 1958.

³³¹ Ibid.,

³³² BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T312.

³³³ BBC WAC RCont: F Lincoln Ralphs, File 1, 1940–1962.

The Leicestershire Plan, he was excluded from the 1957 programme on the topic and continued to be excluded from broadcast for the next eight years. In all fairness to Pedley, he had been lobbying the BBC for coverage of his research interests for several years before 1957 but when his ideas were translated into a programme he was not invited to speak. Scupham had played a strong part in keeping Pedley off-air as has already been discussed and was vocal in his far from neutral contempt for Pedley's position. Weltman also referred to Pedley as 'rather in danger of losing his foothold on the ground' and refused to be impressed by Pedley having an audience to discuss his educational vision with David Eccles. Weltman wrote to Pedley to say that he was glad his work has 'lofty repercussions' but that he still didn't think it merited a whole programme. Pedley wrote repeatedly to the BBC emphasizing his credibility as a speaker, his role as a witness to the Crowther Report. His tone became more and more indignant. Scupham attempted to appease Pedley with a certain condescension: 'the amount of time devoted to educational problems is small – less indeed than I should myself like it to be – and that the range of possible programme contributors is large.'³³⁴ Eventually Pedley wrote to Grisewood directly in the hope he would:

'Ensure that in any broadcast which might be arranged by BBC staff who know nothing of the background I should be consulted in some appropriate way. I feel sure that I can rely on you to see that people who might be involved are fully briefed on the situation.'³³⁵

Grisewood was not impressed and replied: 'The seeking of consultation and advice is within the discretion of the Corporation'.³³⁶ Pedley was not heard again on the BBC for over four years.

Parallel Experiences of Secondary Education in USSR and USA

Shena Simon was an irregular contributor to BBC radio so there is not a wealth of correspondence surviving at the BBC Written Archives. Simon's work on education committees pre-dated the Second World War and her publication *Three Schools or One* (1948) put forward her arguments for comprehensive schools rather than the

³³⁴ BBC WAC Contributors Talks File 1 Pedley, Robin (Dr), 1950–1962 Scupham to Pedley 17.3.60.

³³⁵ BBC WAC Contributors Talks File 1 Pedley, Robin (Dr), Pedley to Grisewood 8.1.61.

³³⁶ BBC WAC Contributors Talks File 1 Pedley, Robin (Dr), Grisewood to Pedley 12.1.61.

Tripartite system. Comprehensive schools in Simon's view avoided the division of young people into undemocratic separate schools and offered the hope that a common school could contribute to social cohesion. Martin and Goodman remind the reader that Simon's own privileged education and assured social position enabled her to operate as an independent person rather than a career politician.³³⁷ Two years before her 1955 Northern Regional BBC radio broadcast on Russian schools the journalist Walter James had been recommending that she take part in a London based Home broadcast on comprehensive education but Rowntree had been against including Simon. James was fiercely anti comprehensive himself in outlook and it is significant that he suggested putting forward an older female writer on comprehensives rather than any of the younger men currently involved with comprehensive research or active teaching in comprehensives in those years. Perhaps Rowntree had been one of those producers uncomfortable with the Marsham Court divided by gender BBC discussions, when Simon's husband Ernest Simon had been chairman of the Governors at the BBC 1947 to 1952. The couple would then invite BBC producers to their London apartment and Ernest would canvas opinion from the men in one room and Shena from the women BBC producers in another.³³⁸ Or perhaps Rowntree's reluctance was tied to a willingness, along with Scupham to promote the grammar school on air wherever possible.

The 1955 BBC script 'Schools in the Soviet Union' was broadcast in August for North of England Home. Simon was the only speaker. There are no other contributors interacting with her description of visits to Russian classrooms. The schools are not named at any point in the radio programme. They were presented as if they were a generic experience of Russian schools. By the mid 1950s BBC radio discussion programmes concerning education often featured conflicting voices debating an issue. The monologue format of an individual voice rallying support for their viewpoint was less common, although in the immediate postwar period it had dominated. In the 1950s it tended to be reserved for figures such as Wolfenden. The BBC Written Archives microfilmed script which has survived, for Schools in the Soviet Union, is

³³⁷ 'Shena Simon (1883–1972) and the 'Religion of Humanity'' in Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman *Women and Education 1800–1980* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 140.

³³⁸ *80th Birthday book for Ernest Darwin Simon, Lord Simon of Wythenshawe* (Heaton Mersey: Printed for Private Circulation, 1959). Contributors include Max Nicholson & Leonard Elmhirst. Walter James (1912–2015) worked on the Manchester Guardian, was Editor of Times Educational Supplement 1947–1951 and an advisor on education to Times newspapers. He was also a Member of BBC General Advisory Council 1956–64.

marked 'as broadcast' so as no sound recording survives this is the best indication we have of what was actually heard by the audience. Her son Brian Simon was also on this trip and photographic evidence survived in her private album of Brian in a Russian classroom (Figure 56), but there was no reference to his presence made in the BBC broadcast. He remained invisible and inaudible for BBC audiences.³³⁹

Simon opened her monologue by asserting her own distance from the situation – she makes it clear that she does not speak Russian and that she was dependent on translators during the trip. She also brought in another concern early in the programme acknowledging that the textbooks she saw for the learning of English in Russian classrooms were not entirely free from propaganda against capitalism. She asked the audience to consider that if we learned Russian to the same extent in our classrooms we would probably include propaganda against Communism. She then moves immediately to the fact that there is no eleven-plus exam, no differentiation of secondary school types and that, while the school leaving age is currently 14, it will rise to 17 in 1960 – a higher school leaving age than was then planned in England. The audience was told there is no streaming, no domestic economy for girls and equal access to equal subjects. There is no persuasive camouflage in the way in which Simon's message is introduced – she confronts the audience directly, I quote: 'We should study that they find too early specialisation unproductive ... we are diametrically opposed and support early specializing ... shouldn't we also have longer general education before vocational training ... they are also tackling problems of cultural education in the modern world where we are not – they learn about agriculture and industry whatever else they study.'³⁴⁰

Simon moved on to praise the school buildings as 'light and airy', even those that were built before the Revolution is a pointed aside. There was little other mention of any visual description of the educational settings apart from plants in science laboratories and that wide corridors allow for indoor play in cold weather. State control is praised on two counts – the state publishing of children's literature which excludes horror comics which trouble the west and that Lenin's advice that people should work hard to build a socialist state lives on and is described as 'a powerful incentive'. Then there are very brief mentions of special extra schooling for children with special gifts and free instruction and that, as in her earlier visit to Russia in 1936,

³³⁹ B. Simon was not broadcast on the BBC discussing secondary education until 1965.

³⁴⁰ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T485 Sim–Sin.

the dominant theme is that education is high on the agenda in terms of financial priorities for the state. The lasting impression of this surviving radio transcript is of someone telling you that they have seen something good and that they expect the audience to reflect on what is not up to scratch about their own educational provision.

The crossed out, unbroadcast sections of the transcript provide lively examples which would have made the programme more vivid for any member of the audience who wanted to imagine a scene while they listen to speech. The following material is crossed out: most children below the age of eight reached the same standard as ours although they are in kindergarten not school; that in further education after the school leaving age some young people prefer to study in an institute of technology rather than science at university; that after school circles, pioneer clubs, cookery classes are all available and that some of these after school activities are organized by trade unions; the descriptions of the display of work on the wall and the lively energy of the children; that the pupils are interested in carpentry, puppetry, Elizabethan drama and medieval castles – all of these details are omitted.³⁴¹ The material is cut which might encourage an English audience to feel an affinity with Russian young people. To look at the material in terms of economic comparisons between Russia and England the areas of education which required a high level of state investment of funds are omitted.

A memo survives in Simon's BBC files from this 1955 broadcast, which is marked 'private and confidential'. Frustratingly, surviving archival evidence does not make clear if this reflection is a response to the edited transmitted version of the programme or her original script. A BBC producer, not the producer named on the actual radio script, in his comments after the date of broadcast described the script: 'A heavily packed barrage of information, not a radio script ... clear, confident making no concessions to the microphone at all.'³⁴² This ill-disguised exasperation can be understood given that Simon did not persuade the audience with examples, she told the reader in a matter of fact way what she believes to be so. Compared to her contemporary the socialist Margaret Coles, who was writing about comprehensive schools in the same period, Simon does not often use visual material in her writing, no descriptive scenes or illustrations, no metaphor or memorable language. In the case of this radio script however the tiny moments of vivid detail, which might have enabled

³⁴¹ Ibid.,

³⁴² BBC WAC, File N18/3701: North Region Lady Shena Simon (1932-1964)

the audience to reflect more on the scene, were all erased by the editing pencil of an unknown decision maker. Mistrust for her programme probably goes further than the subtleties of language however. The BBC in Manchester had made more space for James's point of view and the celebration of the Direct Grant grammar school than any other secondary education topic during these years. Andrew Stewart at the BBC also grumbled that programmes such as those involving Simon were 'not balanced' in their accusations about the eleven-plus and tended towards 'special pleading aimed at that desirable state which has yet to be achieved'.³⁴³

What is unusual about Simon's radio transcript in the context of BBC programmes from this period is she actively advised learning about education from another nation. In 1951 Gould delivered a BBC radio broadcast about his visit to similar Russian schools, which was nationally broadcast, unlike Simon's local programme. He had been very keen to express his preference for English schooling when compared with Russia.³⁴⁴ Lester Smith, in his occasional national BBC radio broadcasts from the late 1940s, had insisted that the Russians should do things their way in education and the English should stick to their own traditions. Martin refers to Lester Smith dismissing Simon and her supporters as "multilateral and nursery hotheads".³⁴⁵ His successor as Manchester CEO, Fisher, was also committed to selective schools. The Lester Smith and Fisher broadcasts were national and Simon's was restricted to a Northern audience. She made this broadcast as a time when comprehensive schools were opening in London and she was also building her connections with Stewart Mason regarding the Leicestershire Plan for education. A survey of the *Radio Times* for the mid 1950s throws up plenty of programmes on Russia from the Home and Third analysing change in the light of Stalin's death but education is not their focus. Architecture and Culture are more regularly featured. Brian Simon was also rarely included in the BBC discussion programmes on education in this period.

When Russian secondary school classroom practice is acknowledged in BBC programmes that are broadcast nationally in the mid 1950s the content usually relates to either the space race or the debate around the relative merits of educating experts in

³⁴³ BBC WAC R51/813 Talks Education File 7: 1955-64, Stewart Memo 14.2.55.

³⁴⁴ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T528, Tak-Tal.

³⁴⁵ J. Martin (2003) 'Shena D. Simon and English education policy: inside/out?', *History of Education* 32:5, 491. For further discussion of Shena's and educational reform see also Hsiao Ku 'In pursuit of social democracy: Shena Simon and the reform of secondary education in England, 1938-1948' *History of Education* (published online 20 July 2017).

science or literature. Edward Crankshaw, the Observer journalist and former Signals Intelligence Officer, broadcast regularly as a commentator on Russia for the Overseas, European and Home. In August 1954 Crankshaw was broadcasting Overseas to Canada, a programme entitled 'Soviet Schools in Trouble'. Here he suggested that the Russian preference for co-education was not because it was desirable but to mask their shortage of teachers. He predicted that their education would become less general and more specialized because they lack the resources for the general education to be sustained. Alec Peterson's 'Tradition Faces a Challenge', broadcast on Home in February 1956, took English experience as its subject but called for an urgent training of science teachers and a need not to remain 'static' or we shall 'lose the battle of peaceful coexistence.' Peterson had studied at Balliol College Oxford, worked as a teacher served in SOE and worked in psychological warfare in the Far East. At the time of making this broadcast he was head teacher at Dover College.³⁴⁶ Peterson stood as the trustworthy Public School and military voice advising all English schools, through the medium of the BBC, as to where the educational responsibilities lay in a cold war climate. He was also an ASG member.

An assumption that the American comprehensive high school model would disrupt traditional practice in English education had been hinted at in all manner of programmes since 1944. However, the most direct support of the United States model of secondary schooling came from Director of Education Jack Longland in 1957 in 'The American Way of School Life' (Figure 57) broadcast on the Home. Of all the CEOs and ASG members which this study includes, Longland was the voice most often heard on the BBC as a chair of 'Any Questions' and numerous other discussion programmes on national and international questions although not the voice most often heard discussing education. Longland's broadcast on his travels in the USA which was subsequently published in *The Listener*, challenged many of the established English reservations about the comprehensive system. Longland praised the United States for having a high attendance at school until 18 years of age, limited specialization, for ensuring that attending university was beginning to be 'packed into the knapsack of the ordinary American child' and for believing that a future physicist will be a better physicist if he is educated in a community that is not segregated by

³⁴⁶ Dover College was a boys' Independent day and boarding school founded in 1871. A D C Peterson became head of the Department of Educational Studies at Oxford University in 1958 and was later involved in the development of the International Baccalaureate system for schools.

intelligence. Longland concludes: ‘it is at least arguable that in England we have contributed too much on the intellectual *elite*, on fostering what the Americans call the egg head, and that we are only just beginning to learn how to educate the ordinary child.’³⁴⁷

Such comments foreshadow Longland’s knowledge of ASG gatherings and the initial discussions which were to develop in the Newsom Report in the early 1960s. However, the letters page response in *The Listener* reacted not to the issues around the needs of the ordinary child but with a familiar fear of Americanisation. Alun Trevor’s published correspondence counteracted Longland:

‘Nationhood reached the British Isles long before state education, a late nineteenth century afterthought ... the English child needs something different – unless the movie, commercial television, and other mass media (unwittingly aided by the comprehensive school) make him a pseudo American.’³⁴⁸

Further letters followed attacking Longland’s comments on elites as being on a par with Krushchev and attacking Longland’s enthusiasm generally for spending ratepayers’ money on school buildings: ‘a child derives very little knowledge from bricks and mortar.’³⁴⁹

Science, Progressivism and the Arts in Secondary Schools

It was not until the late 1950s that the science curriculum in secondary schools began to be regularly discussed by the BBC for a national audience. A similar pattern, as previously noted, can be identified when the Overseas audiences were hearing Birley discuss ‘Greek or Chemistry or both? A talk by Robert Birley on one of the problems of Secondary Education’ as early as 1954 but for the national audience it was only in the wake of C P Snow’s March 1959 Rede Lecture that the science curriculum and its relative merits in relation to a classical education began to demand space in BBC schedules. There were mutterings dotted about in broadcast schedules as early as 1956

³⁴⁷ *The Listener*, 25 July 1957, page 127.

³⁴⁸ *The Listener*, August 1957. Born in Wales, Alun Trevor worked in a Educational Administration in the UK before turning to teaching. He worked as a teacher 1955–56 in Long Island, USA. See A.Trevor, *The Songbird is singing: scenes from a Welsh Childhood in the 1920s* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2009)

³⁴⁹ *The Listener*, 22 August 1957, page 277.

however. Peterson's 'Tradition Faces a Challenge' also made it into the pages of *The Listener*. His original script is barbed as to the slowness with which the English were embracing a thorough scientific education and he attacks Prep schools and Public schools for perpetuating an ignorance of science:

'Heaven forfend some of them say that our best pupils with their sensitive appreciation of literature and morals, of art and history, and all that has made civilisation worth having, should be turned into dreary scientists with one track minds, peering for ever into test tubes in the interests of industry or competitive coexistence.'³⁵⁰

To counter balance, diplomat and author Harold Nicholson was also given broadcast space in 1957 to discuss the relative merits of the sciences and humanities but not from a perspective that engaged with either any direct knowledge of science and industry, no experience of mainstream LEA schooling – nor even the experience of being a Public School Headmaster. The academics Noel Annan, Stuart Hampshire and P B Medwar could also be heard returning to the theme 'What is an educated man?' on Home in 1957 but their actual interest in pedagogy or curriculum for the sciences or the humanities was minimal and the underlying message was embroiled yet again in the debate that tradition was in danger of being sacrificed.

Snow's actual lecture, broadcast in a revised version for the Third in 1959, commended the USSR and USA's attempts at educational change and for being 'more sensitive to the world they are living in' than the English: 'In education tactics, we are often more gifted than they are. In educational strategy, by their side we are only playing at it.'³⁵¹ Snow praised the breadth of Russian education and their deeper insight into scientific education and training. John Sharp broadcast a compelling scrutiny of contemporary education on the Third in August of 1959, 'The Practical, the Cultural and the Mumbo-Jumbo'. Sharp was headmaster of the Prince Rupert School, Wilhelmshaven, Germany.³⁵² Even the title resonated with the kind of light hearted but indignant wording that was to become more common in broadcasting

³⁵⁰ *The Listener*, 5 January 1956.

³⁵¹ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T491, Sne–Son.

³⁵² Opened by George Tomlinson, Minister of Education, in 1948, in Wilhelmshaven, Germany, the Prince Rupert School was the first comprehensive co-educational boarding school to exclusively educate children of British Military personnel.

during the 1960s, although a pattern seems to have been established where many of the most outspoken broadcasts appeared in August. Sharp spoke of ‘the pitiful situation created by the failure of our education to adapt itself to the changing world’ He pointed the finger at the freedom of teachers who order the content of education in England and, while recognizing the strengths of this ‘local freedom’, suggested that it inhibited change. He reprimanded the focus on eleven-plus and different segregation of children for having deprived secondary education for all of a common core. He hoped for a situation where a child finishing primary school at eleven still has the ‘priceless asset of the desire to ask why? Which nature gave him before he came near a school’ but insisted that science must form a significant part of his subsequent secondary education rather than an elevating of the status of Latin as a subject which was an active agent of change. He bemoaned the prestige of the classics for having created ‘the highly educated man who can’t communicate with any foreigner – and to whom this isn’t a source of shame.’ Appreciation of the present both in terms of scientific understanding and discrimination of the culture around him is ultimately applauded by Sharp.

The Listener included some correspondence of note generated by the programme. Some complained that Sharp’s programme gave insufficient focus to maths education. Haughton Crowe, author of ‘New Education for Old’ while expressing broad agreement with Sharp complained that he did not emphasize that it is how we learn not what we learn that is crucial and insisted that the illusions of education being about freedom were severely compromised by being ‘harnessed to an exam system.’ Crowe’s wording is fiercer than many earlier letters in its defence of change. He calls for amongst other things ‘traditional nonsense’ being thrown out. Perhaps the most telling letter is from Sharp himself, following on from a defence of Latin and Greek from Livingstone.³⁵³ Sharp complains in his correspondence about *The Listener* editors re-naming his prose version of his broadcast talk ‘What is wrong with secondary education?’ when he had proposed that the published version was ‘Some thoughts on the Curriculum in Secondary Schools.’ Apart from the obvious desire of *The Listener* to make the title more provocative it is perhaps telling that the word ‘Curriculum’ is removed, perhaps on the assumption that it is a word of interest to educators not the public.

³⁵³ *The Listener*, 10 Sept 1959 pages 383–84; 17 Sept, page 447, 24 Sept, page 491, 1 Oct, page 533.

Geoffrey Bantock had been in contact with the BBC since the early 1950s but only erratically had his voice been broadcast on air. Newby had not warmed to him and referred to his attempts to broadcast a discussion about Disney in 1950 as ‘more than usually tiresome.’ By 1953, Bantock was being criticized for his ‘humourless’, ‘unimaginative’ voice, which was likened to a ‘Puritan preacher.’ Although Bantock had discussed primary school child-centred pedagogy for BBC radio in the 1950s, he had been given little space on air to comment on education after the age of 11. Eric Baines wrote to *The Listener* in 1956 in response to an article by Bantock which itself smouldered with anti-progressive feeling. Baines queried how much longer would the Third ignore A S Neil and Summerhill. No response was given but Home did not schedule A S Neil as the subject of a programme until 1963, when Neil was 79 years old, the school had been running for 36 years and a book on the subject had recently been published.³⁵⁴ Like Morris and Impington these schools could be considered as history rather than current experience. The BBC rarely presented active depictions of progressive education in either primary or secondary education in this period, and when they were included in broadcasts there was an implication that the content was there to shock, amuse or incite exasperation in an English audience. The Schweppes advert parodies what can be imagined to be a school somewhat along the lines of Dartington Hall but the message of doubt that this pedagogy could have any impact on mainstream schools is conveyed by the visual and verbal parody. There are echoes of James and the child crucified by activity methods. In the Schweppes advert the text tells us: ‘A new boy recently sneaked off to the woods to indulge in some Latin prose composition.’ (Figure 58)

Arts education within the secondary school received very little coverage by the BBC within the years 1953–1959. Occasional images of secondary education were used as illustrations, for example by *The Listener*, to provide eye catching visual coverage of secondary education. Images of art education easily lend themselves to becoming decorative illustrations because of the perceived decorative nature of the subject of art itself. However, the topic of art education only appears to have been discussed in detail by one radio programme and one 7-minute insert to a television programme during these years. Both broadcasts appear towards the end of the period

³⁵⁴ BBC WAC RCont: Bantock G H File 1 1946–1962, Undated notes by P H Newby commenting on Bantock’s skill as a broadcaster & Baines’s comments from *The Listener* 16 May 1957, page 793.

under consideration. Discussion of the Ministry of Education's changes to further education in the arts and technology, education which would follow on from a secondary education, did receive a little more BBC coverage in the same period. The secondary education coverage on arts education needs to be understood in relation to those changes in provision, which were envisaged by The Crowther Report. A couple of programme makers were making programmes that hinted whether secondary school arts education was leading somewhere or whether it could be appreciated as an end in itself.

Firstly the 7-minute documentary coverage of the art department captured in 'Mainly for Women: Mayfield School for Girls, Putney' (1959) made for the daytime broadcast will be analysed and then its content compared with the sound only transmission on Third: 'Dissipated Octopuses' by the artist Maurice de Sausmarez (1915–1969). This later broadcast specifically argued for a more carefully thought through type of arts education in secondary schools. The footage of Mayfield Art department is distinct from any other evidence considered in this study because the surviving BBC WAC evidence doesn't reveal whether this footage was eventually used in a 'Mainly for Women' Wednesday Magazine broadcast or whether it was kept only as part of Mayfield School archive. The only Mayfield School broadcast which is listed by the Radio Times for this year concerns Miles discussing homework, however, surviving records for 'Mainly for Women' as a Series are incomplete and not all short inserts for the magazine arts programme are included in listings. Whether or not it was broadcast outside the community of the school, it was created and merits scrutiny. The survival of the film footage is a rare example from the period in which Doreen Stephens, the BBC's first editor of Women's Programmes from 1953–1964, was employed. The Wednesday Magazine ran from 1958–1963 as a daytime arts programme and yet as a project led by women it has remained invisible in broadcasting histories until its recent 're-discovery' by broadcasting historians including Irwin, who observed that the programme as a whole had 'slipped from critical and popular view when compared with, for example, the more neutral or masculine Monitor (BBC 1958-65).'³⁵⁵

The documentary looks at the art department of the new Mayfield School for Girls, four years into its comprehensive school existence. The headmistress and ASG

³⁵⁵ M. Irwin 'BBC's Wednesday Magazine and Arts Television for Women' *Media History* 2015, Vol.21, Part 2. Pages 162–177.

member Miles makes a brief appearance in her study, which is furnished with fashionable shelving displaying art objects – she also wears a ceramic brooch, which may have been the work of a pupil. The images that the viewer sees include the making of a house of cards similar to that recently created and distributed by Charles and Ray Eames; ceramics and hanging sculptures being worked on both independently and in groups, trees being painted, weaving being made, pupils walking up and down a stairwell, entering art rooms purposefully dressed in overalls, admiring art work in ‘auxiliary halls’ – art work which is very reminiscent of contemporary illustration and design both by the Eames and by fabric designers such as Lucienne Day. Girls can also be seen rehearsing shows outside with puppets they have made, raking the school garden and attending the animal handling club where guinea pigs and baby rabbits are petted and allowed to balance along walls. The teenage girls are shown as consistently self-motivated. The film footage was made silent and the voice over was recorded separately. (Figures 59 & 60)

The narrators who can be heard are unnamed and unseen pupils. They speak with consistent enthusiasm and unquestioning respect for their arts curriculum and their headmistress Miles. The first narrator providing a voice over is an older pupil who attended the school as a grammar school pupil and who then witnessed its transfer to comprehensive status. The tone is set from the outset that this is a safe comprehensive space which it is implied is a natural growth from the grammar school tradition. The kindness of Miles is praised and her patient traditional female qualities. Every voice heard praises the choice of arts activities on offer in the curriculum and the chance to shine at something. Many speakers begin their statements ‘I like...’ No voice heard betrays any regional accent or traces of any cultural experience beyond the attempt to emulate the middle class English of contemporary BBC broadcasting. The advantage of light in school architecture is commented on and the observation made that to have a school with so much glass rather than brick is positive. The only hint at any life beyond the norms of suburban London comfort is an observation by one pupil that she lives in a flat so having a school with a garden is appreciated. Not one girl speaks of taking the arts activities that the viewer has been shown in so much detail and building on their secondary school training to form a working life.

This stands in marked difference to say other 1950s print media coverage of say Kidbrooke Comprehensive in London, which had opened in 1954 but did not receive any BBC focus within a programme until 1962. Kidbrooke received news coverage

about its specifically vocational courses which could lead to employment whereas these young women are being presented as cultured and accomplished women who as far as the audience is aware do not see these skills in the arts forming part of their future working lives. The residual arguments of Newsom's book from a decade earlier, *The Education of Girls*, resonate in this programme which appears to be presenting these young women as future homemakers and pursuers of hobbies. Newsom was deeply suspicious of educating girls for a professional life. Miles herself is not pictured in the art room. She is located in her office with the 'best' products of the art room sitting as gifts on her carefully created shelves. She is praised for her friendliness by the young narrators' voices. It is this quality that is presented as contributing to her position of authority.³⁵⁶

In stark contrast, de Sausmarez's 'Dissipated Octopuses' is directly concerned with changing the secondary school arts curriculum to lead to a greater commitment to arts and technology in further educational training (Figure 61). De Sausmarez was Head of the Fine Arts department at Leeds at the time of making this 1959 broadcast and a friend of both Herbert Read and the poet James Kirkup. Both Read and Kirkup were contributing to *The Listener* in this period and de Sausmarez's programme can be seen as a kind of continuation of the arguments Read put forward in his *The Listener* article in 1957 where he criticizes that art schools were overlooked as part of the postwar reconstruction. Read ridicules the man of taste as an essentially timid creature afraid of 'the unknown, the unconventional ... the escapist is the enemy in our midst.' Read argues that art schools must educate to make a direct contribution to British Industry. De Sausmarez takes up the argument in 'Dissipated Octopuses' with praise for the primary curriculum in English schools but declaring 'in the years beyond eleven something goes wrong.'³⁵⁷ He suggests that while psychologists have taken an interest in the early years curriculum they have neglected adolescent education in the arts. Sausmarez disapproves of ignoring the twentieth century enthusiasms of the young in favour of the folk tradition but simultaneously thinks copying contemporary design lacks purpose. In the Mayfield film there certainly can be an accusation of copying designers. The 'imitative' posters, book jackets and would-be commercial design that he sees young people being instructed to participate

³⁵⁶ 'Mayfield School for Girls (Putney)', BBC, Part of 'Mainly for Women', 1959, BFI identifier: 470594.

³⁵⁷ *The Listener*, 9 April 1959, page 629.

in in secondary school art lessons he regards as ‘the cultivation of decorative clichés.’ He further complains:

‘The continual emphasis on spectacular and violently dramatic subject titles for pictures: ‘Raiders’, ‘Smash and Grab’, “Bonfire Night” (which many of my students have told me pursued them each year up the school from the age of eleven) and lastly the essays in what are termed ‘abstracts’. These are curious misconceptions of the idea of abstraction, jazzy arrangements or geometric shapes or amorphous waves of colour with realistic or at any rate identifiable objects floating about in them, the whole thing as said looking like a dissipated octopus. It is a serious reflection on some examinations for the G.C.E. that activities of this kind are actually encouraged.’³⁵⁸

This ‘entirely impersonal’ work Sausmarez observes should in his view be replaced by an art education that values the conscious analytical processes and considers them as valuable as the intuitive unconscious processes. He recommends seeing form and function as part of the content and of bringing together the intuitive and rational activities so that students can be excited that the simplicity of their actions can be understood as surrounded by complexity of thought. Through this approach Sausmarez predicts students embarking on constructive activities that involve links with technology. If a grammar of form is introduced rather than intense subjectivity opportunities to develop technological talent will emerge, he believes, rather than adolescents in schools being left to ‘ape superficially’ what they see without knowing what it is about.³⁵⁹

Reflections

Of all the time periods considered in this study, the years 1953–1959 present the most obvious brewing of tensions around the representation of secondary education by the BBC, but the tension was held in check by BBC staff such as Newby, Rowntree, Scupham and Weltman who took responsibility for an essentially pro-grammar school agenda dominating BBC coverage. The interest in secondary education and a desire to comment on its progress since 1944 was manifest and yet the BBC was determined

³⁵⁸ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T457 Sat–Say.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.,

that criticisms of existing provision were muted and a mistrust of progressive agendas was considered a safer space for debate than any outright move to discuss the slow and regionally haphazard unfolding of the 1944 Act. In this period representations of secondary pupils that were intrusive and personal were not yet heard or seen. There was a certain veil of anonymity still present in the representation of young people in school. Gibson discussed such potential problems in his innovative BBC Series ‘Sound’, revealing that he and Dennis Mitchell discussed:

‘Searchingly the microphone can reveal ‘people talking’ ... but you don’t get anything to be proud of if you start thinking of people as specimens to net for your collecting box ... they must know you, trust you with what they have to offer, not to be crept on stealthily.’³⁶⁰

The role of the ASG members lobbying to affect the representation of secondary education by the BBC continued but their interests were focused on particular educational themes rather than a generic protectiveness of the 1944 Act, as had been the case in Chapter 1. The secondary modern buildings were now occasionally visited by programme makers, but coverage of regional variation in secondary schooling remained minimal in BBC schedules. When such coverage happened ASG members were called upon to shape the programmes content. The BBC appears to have provided limited opportunities for the public to voice their doubts about educational provision and when their doubts were given space the overarching concern on the part of the BBC seem to be to provide reassurance and encourage gratitude. The message of most broadcast programmes implied that which ever selective school child your attended they would be nurtured as a democratic citizen able to think for themselves.

³⁶⁰ BBC WAC Microfilm Radio Scripts Reel T492 Son–Sou. Denis Mitchell (1911-1990) worked in Features for the BBC making radio series on British and American folk music in the 1950s. Like Gibson he was interested in broadcasting the voices of ordinary people. He made documentary films including: ‘Teenagers’ (1955) and ‘Morning in the Streets’ (1959). John Boorman considered him an influence.

Chapter 3

‘Shall We Throw the Dregs Away?’ 1960–1965

They say ‘What us Sir? Do you mean we can write stories as well as ‘A’ streams?’ It takes a long time to live down being in 3C, when the whole of one’s society implies that ‘effort’ and ‘good striving’ should be devoted to keeping one out of 3C. Children in 3C feel dregs and it takes much encouragement to lift them out of it. The unbalanced ones even find that being bottom stream children confirms their psychological weaknesses so they are likely to get worse and worse. But they respond immensely to encouragement. For ‘3C’ are some twenty souls, and if you pinch them or curse them they feel it as much as those who are ‘3A’. When June’s mother died she suffered as much as any of us. In no time at all they will be standing at the workbench, or at the altar, or driving on the roads, or at the baby clinic, next to you or me or one of our children.

David Holbrook *The Tuesday Talk, Shall We Throw the Dregs Away?* Home, 26.9.61.

Oh Mr. Minister, I’ve failed eleven-plus!
Now I can start to plan my life, after all the fuss.
Three thousand quid a year on some assembly line for me,
But clever Jones, who passed, will go to University.
In years to come I’ll stop my car, pick up Professor Jones
He’ll wearily accept a lift – he’ll never make old bones.
It’s just as well. No prospects there, but penniless old age.
My thankfulness for failing is impossible to gauge!

An entry for *Verse and Worse to the Minister of Education* poetry competition set by Honor Wyatt. This poem by Miss F Burton of Carmarthen (a teacher) read on air by Beverley Dunn, Home, 9.7.61.

Introduction

This chapter considers the evidence of non-fiction BBC programmes representing secondary education between 1960 and 1965. The content of these programmes sometimes appeared more willing to poke fun at secondary education provision than is apparent in the earlier chapters. Arguably material was also presented that was more intrusive in its depiction of individuals’ lives. In devising the programmes technological advances aided the filming and sound recording of new stories from secondary schools. If pandering to the audiences’ entertainment and curiosity was now more apparent, there remained an underlying message that secondary educational provision should never stray too far from the path of tradition. The process of making these programmes continued to be an active collaboration between a small number of BBC staff and a large number of freelance contributors. Some of the freelance contributors were members of the ASG but in this period the ASG were more actively interested in the representation of university education. While the BBC fretted about

the potential of Independent television networks poaching their own audience, BBC staff were also seeking to collaborate with new voices. The BBC staff continued to hold ultimate editorial power and in these years. Rowntree still shaped the agenda in terms of who spoke regularly on secondary education matters. John Scupham's letter of guidance circulated within the BBC in 1960, suggested that the BBC had given the green light to a more overt discussion of the dismantling of the 1944 Act.

The Chapter uses 78 BBC broadcasts as evidence. Some are full-length programmes and some a section of a programme with a magazine format.³⁶¹ Of all the programmes considered, 33 were transmitted on Home, 16 on Network Three, 8 on Third, 10 on Light and 11 on BBC TV. Of the 78 programmes considered for this chapter, only 5 were converted into articles in *The Listener*, although 3 were also reviewed or discussed by television critics in *The Listener*. For the first time in this study no Overseas broadcasts are examined in this chapter. The focus of Overseas broadcasting seemed to have moved away from secondary education as a topic. Overseas broadcasting did increasingly discuss Higher Education, and in the Chapter as a whole, some Overseas broadcasts, which discuss education in the broadest sense, are referenced. However, the use of documentary film, sometimes promoted by the Foreign Office, was also playing a part in representing education overseas, separate from any BBC output. The subheadings in Chapter 3 mirror some of those used to group evidence in Chapter 2, for instance types of schools remain a steady part of the discussion. The growth of non-selective educational associations and campaigns and the education of girls are also given particular consideration in Chapter 3 while arguments about art and science become less significant.

The years 1960–1965 led up to the Labour government's Circular 10/65, which recommended, but did not insist, that LEAs convert secondary schools into comprehensive schools. A Conservative government was in power for the first five years, considered in this chapter, with a Labour Government being elected in 1964. The 1964 Labour manifesto pledged to abolish the eleven-plus and referred to grammar school education being 'extended'. It insisted that no child would be denied access through arbitrary selection at the age of 11 if they gained power. There was no reference in the Manifesto at this stage of Public Schools being abolished. Pressures

³⁶¹ Full details of programmes, dating from 1960–1965, discussed in this chapter can be found in Appendix 3.

around the passing of the eleven-plus were still a widespread concern for many families living in most LEAs in England and Wales. Adverts in *The Listener* attempted to manipulate these fears: a Helix set could help as ‘a mark lost here – one gained there and your child’s future is decided’; Cuisenaire Rods would also provide ‘a flying start in arithmetic’ and *Knowledge Encyclopedia* would provide a ‘priceless investment in their future.’ *The Listener* was most dominated by these adverts in the period 1960–1965. (Figures 62, 63 & 64)

Honor Wyatt’s poetry competition on Home, invited listeners to send in poems addressed to the 1961 conservative Minister of Education, David Eccles. It generated entries mainly concerned with school dinners; teacher shortages, issues around punishment and the occasional jibe at ‘free activity equipping us for life.’³⁶² Wyatt had long connections with broadcasting and poetry, being a friend of Robert Graves and Laura Riding.³⁶³ Wyatt’s broadcast does not appear to have offered prizes or a set winner, as such. Three poems that got a mention on air directly discussed selective schooling. The first is quoted above in the opening to the chapter and the second also champions a narrator who learned not from school but from roaming the world: ‘And now I know a great deal more than those who stayed to swot.’ One further example takes a veiled swipe at scholarships to fee-paying schools:

‘ Oh Mr Minister, there’s plenty to be said
For sending Council schoolboys to Public Schools instead,
For there, as well as training brains, they steadfastly defend
The sort of education that begins the other end...’³⁶⁴

That more BBC programmes in the early 1960s did not directly address abolishing fee paying schools appears to have been partly to do with a reluctance for those involved with education, to speak on air about the ways in which these schools could be absorbed into a non-fee paying system. Neil Crichton Miller in 1962 wanted to make a broadcast entitled: ‘Abolish the Public Schools’ but then toned down the title to ‘Make the public schools public.’ Even with a less assertive title he had to cancel his

³⁶² BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: ‘Woman’s Hour’ Films 63/64, July 1961.

³⁶³ Honor Wyatt (1910–1988) was introduced to Mary Somerville through their mutual friends the poets Robert Graves and Laura Riding. Subsequently Wyatt started broadcasting for the BBC from 1944.

³⁶⁴ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: ‘Woman’s Hour’ Films 63/64, July 1961.

proposed debate between, amongst others, Anthony Crosland and ASG member, broadcaster and Robbins Committee member, Anthony Chenevix Trent, who was headmaster of Independent school, Bradfield College, at the time of the programme being planned. Miller wrote to Crosland expressing his problems in finding contributors:

The programme, scheduled for Friday 14th December, has collapsed. Strange to say I could not persuade the headmaster of any prominent Independent boarding school to cross swords with you on the issue. Whether this was because of your reputation as a redoubtable debater or because each was a genuine convert to the case for integration I do not know ...³⁶⁵

Another influence on the BBC in the years 1960–1965 was the increased competition from commercial television, and the concern that this television might be more popular, more modern and more avant-garde in its record keeping of contemporary life. In 1960 Associated Rediffusion had broadcast a pioneering documentary Series ‘The Street’ that followed the inhabitants of South London going about their daily lives. The narrator, Michael Ingrams (1925–2009), was not a distant figure speaking of this other community as if they were subjects of an anthropological study. Instead he was filmed sitting and talking to the adults in the pub in the evening (Figure 65). He appears as a participant, welcomed in this community. He was himself educated at Westminster school, a school known for its experiments with film making amongst boys from prep school onwards. Ingrams left aged 17 to act, rather than pursuing a university degree, and arguably he takes to ‘The Street’ as if he was an actor within it, blurring the boundaries between reality and fiction. Ingrams was filmed talking directly to the camera through the door of the pub as the subjects of the programme wished him good night: ‘night Michael’ (Figure 66). This was informal television but it was also not overtly commercial. It echoed the *cinéma vérité* preoccupations of contemporary European filmmakers: aerial view shots of the baby’s pram in the street for instance (Figure 67). At the same time ‘The Street’ was a no-nonsense unpretentious record of English working class life. The cameras had permission to film a child’s birthday tea within the community centre (Figure 68) but did not enter

³⁶⁵ BBC WAC, RCont1: Talks, Anthony Crosland, File 2, 1962, Crichton Miller to Crosland 5.11.62.

schools – whether through lack of permission or lack of interest on the part of the filmmakers remains open to debate. No secondary school was depicted, only the primary school. The school was presented as a place of thresholds: the children crossed it in the morning with daffodils (Figure 69) and ran from it after school to the comfort of the sweet shop. The BBC lost a number of its staff to rival Independent television companies during the 1960s, Weltman being one of the most longstanding. The representation of secondary education by the BBC 1960–1965 needs to be analysed with recognition of these shifts in opportunities both for staff and viewers. Boorman who moved from ITV to the BBC in 1961 refers to the ‘rough and tumble of ITV’ in contrast to ‘a remote and snobbish BBC ... At my first monthly programme board [at the BBC], where producers assessed each other’s work, someone handed me a note in Greek. An assumption? Or a test?’³⁶⁶

Advisory Centre and Associations

Members of the ASG continued to contribute to non-fiction radio programmes covering secondary education in the years 1960–1965 but their presence was not as directly dominant as has been made apparent in the previous two chapters. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly Fisher no longer acted as ‘chair’ for programmes concerning secondary education although he continued to chair programmes concerned with higher education. Correspondence, between BBC Staff in 1960, showed concern about Fisher’s ‘Establishment’ role and recommended that he did not chair programmes where his personal views become apparent.³⁶⁷ Secondly, the bi-annual meetings of the ASG in the first half of the 1960s also show a far stronger interest in higher education than in secondary education, in terms of the subject areas which the meetings focused upon, so it is not so surprising that we find less ASG entanglement with BBC programmes on secondary education as a result. Thirdly, the relative ease with which BBC programme makers could now edit sound recordings made by programme contributors, such as teachers, with irregular broadcasting experience, but regular recent experience of recording classrooms or other gatherings of young people, provided young voices reflecting on their own education and captured with the portable tape recorders which had only recently become more

³⁶⁶ J. Boorman *Adventures of a Suburban Boy* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), 97.

³⁶⁷ BBC WAC RCont: Norman Fisher, File 2, 1959–1962, Kenneth Adam, Controller of Programmes, Television, to H.T.Tel, 18.3.60.

widely available. Certain BBC producers such as Sasha Moorsom and Dick Keene took a particular interest in using this kind of material in broadcasts, as had BBC staff such as Gibson who had started a Light radio programme back in 1954, which included taking a midget tape recorder on a hitchhiking trip to capture young people's voices. By the 1960s, Gibson was also increasingly involved with broadcasts specifically about education. These new challenges meant that the lobbying of BBC talks staff by ASG members now had interesting competition in the shape of relationships between the BBC and actual educators who spent far more time immersed in the lived experience of secondary education than most ASG members ever had.

Fourthly, the impact of the ASG influence took a different form than it had in earlier decades. The sociologist and former World War Two PEP director, Michael Dunlop Young, had during the 1940s and 1950s focused his PhD studies at LSE on working class communities in East London and on establishing the Consumers Association.³⁶⁸ By 1960, his interest had settled on education in particular and he established the Advisory Centre for Education (ACE) with a view to enabling parents to make informed choices about the education of their children through a postal advice system and magazine publication *Where?* In its early years, ACE was also concerned with setting up a 'Higher Education department' and suggested that inviting sixth formers to visit new universities and attend summer schools would be a helpful way to increase public understanding of Higher Education, but the main focus was to inform parents about the reality of different schools for their children's secondary education.

Briggs records how Young initiated ACE on 'highly respectable lines.' Young involved John Vaizey, who in turn recruited ASG members Dent, James, Newsom and Peterson as Honorary Vice Presidents for ACE. The list of Honorary Vice Presidents was exceptionally long and also included a number of Bishops, further CEOs who did not belong to the ASG and the headmasters of Malvern, Marlborough and Winchester College schools.³⁶⁹ Vaizey enjoyed the social world of BBC producers such as Weltman to whom he reflected in 1961, thanking him for the dinner invitation before making a BBC broadcast: 'you must be so used to doing this but it is

³⁶⁸ For an introduction to Michael Young and his research see Jon Lawrence 'Inventing the Traditional Working Class': A Re-analysis of Interview Notes from Young and Wilmott's Family & Kinship in East London', *The Historical Journal* 59, 2, 2016, 567-593.

³⁶⁹ A. Briggs *Michael Young: social entrepreneur* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 153.

rather clever to put people so much at their ease and make them feel clever and bright.³⁷⁰ In time, Briggs suggests Young found Vaizey ‘too Establishment’ and entrusted power within the organization to Brian Jackson instead.³⁷¹ Jackson had come from a working class Huddersfield background and studied at the University of Cambridge, whereas Young had attended the Independent School, Dartington Hall, and Vaizey had been educated in part in hospital after suffering poor health as a teenager.³⁷² Jackson’s intervention was described by broadcaster Brian Groombridge, as significant, because he could ‘speak, as a sympathetic sociologist, about what the discrepancy between the parents’ experience and their children’s means.’³⁷³ There was an active concern that parents educated before the raising of the school leaving age could misunderstand the opportunities available for their offspring or actively discourage prolonged and committed involvement in education for the young.

The early involvement of an elite network of figures supporting ACE crops up in numerous archival collections including the papers of Archbishop Ramsey from the early 1960s in Lambeth Palace Archives.³⁷⁴ These networks may well have alerted the BBC to a concern that programme makers should schedule increasing numbers of programmes that educated audiences on the realities of contemporary educational experience and opportunities. Individuals who had in recent decades been seeking to reassure the public on air that the 1944 Act simply needed more time to reveal the rewards of the current system were now lending their names to an organization that purported to empower parents to make informed choices about education, rather than expecting them to place any blind trust in the future. The ACE magazine *Where?*, An educational version of the Consumer Association magazine *Which?*, adapted Young’s vision of cultivating ‘neighbourhood democracy.’ If that democracy did not exist for everyone in a tangible neighbourhood then there was at least the impression of a democracy of readers sharing in their hopes for the next generation through a lively network based on a shared interest in education.

The early meetings of Advisory Centre for Education showed a relentless commitment to getting media coverage to give voice to the concerns of contemporary

³⁷⁰ BBC WAC RCont: John Vaizey, File 1: 1957–1962.

³⁷¹ Briggs, *Michael Young*, 153.

³⁷² J. Vaizey *Scenes from Institutional Life* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959).

³⁷³ BBC WAC Brian A Jackson File 1, 1957–1962.

³⁷⁴ Lambeth Palace Library, Manuscripts & Archives, Ramsey 57, ff. 301-11.

parents about education.³⁷⁵ Or rather, give voice to the concerns of a particular group of parents who Young knew. Prior to the formation of ACE, Young was already actively involved with BBC broadcasting. He participated in documentary radio programmes looking at Higher Education such as ‘Pressure at 18 plus’, which discussed the scramble for university places. ASG members, including James, Hoggart and Peterson, contributed to this programme.³⁷⁶ Considering the repeated urgency of Young’s desire to make BBC programmes about ACE, he had reasonable success with both very immediate and then intermittent but regular coverage of his organization. Jackson appeared in various BBC programmes focusing on secondary education in the early to mid 1960s, not just because of his role as Director of ACE but also because of his 1962 publication: *Education and The Working Class*.³⁷⁷ In a 1963 Network Three broadcast, ‘The Place of the Parent’, Jackson observed:

‘I suppose we’ve landed ourselves in our present situation because we’ve built up in many ways, an extremely fine educational system, I think. But all along the line we have left parents out of it. We’ve now got this very complicated structure of schools, and certificates, and universities, but there is no place for parents ... the ordinary parent feels small and helpless and they’ve got to push their child through all these strange schools and certificates ... They don’t spot the moments of choice or of discussion; too often they feel as if they’re being manipulated...

There is a woman, a very able woman at the Ministry in Curzon Street who does specially deal with parents’ problems ... but of course it isn’t widely advertised, people don’t normally go and see her, I believe – I dare say she would be swamped if it were ... She should be thoroughly drowned, and she should have a whole office in Curzon Street where lots of parents should go in and get lots of kind of information – that’s how it should be ... we make this kind of little gesture towards parents ... then we try to keep quiet so nobody finds out about it and uses it.’³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL, Advisory Centre for Education, Executive Committee, ACE/4/1.

³⁷⁶ ‘Pressure at 18–Plus’, tx: 16.5.60. Third. Produced by BBC producer Sasha Moorsom, who married Young in 1960.

³⁷⁷ Publisher: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

³⁷⁸ BBC WAC, Microfilm radio scripts reel: T258 Jab–Jam.

Jackson went on to insist that parents should not be the final authority on how teachers do their job but they should be well informed. He took the focus on building a democratic community – which had been reiterated during World War Two and since victory in 1945 – to its logical conclusion. Namely, that democracy included well informed parents who understood how their children could have a rewarding and extended experience of school even though the parents themselves may have been educated before the raising of the school leaving age.

Jackson's involvement in broadcasting came about partly because Rowntree at the BBC warmed to him. Hoggart had suggested some names at the BBC, which he believed would be receptive to Jackson's interests in the late 1950s, but these had not included Rowntree.³⁷⁹ Initially Jackson's attempts to put forward programmes using quotations from children's school writings were rebuffed. He championed the village pupils over the pupils from RAF bases – who he perceived to be corrupted by modern media. John Brummer responded 'I only occasionally stray into the sphere of sociology when it impinges on industry.'³⁸⁰ By 1960 however actual conversations with Rowntree and Groombridge excited their interest in Jackson's research on grammar schools and Groombridge was hoping to see the book before it was even written. Jackson pointed out in response 'card indices etc. are not very eloquent!' Jackson also took an active interest in whether Groombridge's programmes only reached an audience who already knew how to access information and questioned what else the BBC could do to reach a wider audience rather than 'merely filling the air.'³⁸¹ Rowntree continually championed Jackson, suggesting to other BBC staff that he was used in programmes where he could be the spokesman on 'education of the working classes' being himself of 'Working-class origin [with] a musical Yorkshire voice ... and a beautiful yellow beard.'³⁸² In later correspondence she also pushed for Jackson as the person who could 'ask questions on behalf of the parent.' Unlike Bucknell, who had moved sideways at the BBC in the 1940s from playing the inquisitive working class parent to present DIY programmes by the 1950s, Jackson

³⁷⁹ BBC WAC, Brian A Jackson, RCont: Talks 1957–1962, Jackson to Brunner 15.6.58. John Brunner (1927–2015) was educated at Eton and Trinity College Cambridge, was involved with PEP, worked as a BBC talks producer from 1953 and was advisor to the Treasury 1958–1961.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., Brunner to Jackson, 16.6.58, Benzie also rejected Jackson's ideas for programmes, Benzie to Jackson, 5.10.59, saying that mass media was less of a problem for society than capital punishment.

³⁸¹ Ibid., Jackson to Groombridge, 16.10.61

³⁸² Ibid., M A Hart, Deputy Editor M A Hart, Memo to other editors quoting Rowntree, 26.2.62.

belonged to a new generation of educated young men publishing social research such that Rowntree ruled: ‘...not everyone would agree with what he said, but his point of view would have to be respected.’³⁸³ Jackson was involved with social research not manual activity.

Alongside ACE the other network that developed in the early 1960s was the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education (CASE). This also had strong connections with Cambridge, having developed initially when parents at a Cambridge primary school queried the poor quality of building provision that their children were experiencing.³⁸⁴ Unlike ACE, CASE was concerned only with the promotion of State education. ACE was over time to steer itself towards greater promotion of State education and to often champion the comprehensive school cause, but in the early editions of *Where?* magazine much space had been given over to advising parents on fee paying schools also. CASE was founded by Helen Brock who appeared on ‘Woman’s Hour’ in 1962 discussing how the Associations first got off the ground. Brock’s account was more sympathetic to Local Education Officers than ACE was generally understood to be. Brock attributed to LEAs a willingness ‘to improve conditions, but their inability to do so because the government would not allow them to have the money to make improvements.’ Brock was emphatic that ‘state education wants somebody to be vitally interested in it ... on the parents’ side.’ Simultaneously she insisted that relations with LEAs were excellent and that it was ‘extremely important to maintain good relations ... we feel that only within the state system can all children get the very best educational opportunities.’

Brock did not want parents to waste time fighting CEOs at a local level, instead she wanted a united front against the Conservative government that claimed to recognize the need for well resourced schools but did not commit to the necessary funding. At the time of making the 1962 programme, Associations had also begun in London, Chichester and Oxford and CASE continued to feature in BBC programmes for the remaining period that this study is concerned with. Dick Keen was collecting interviews from participants in these Associations by 1965. Separately recorded interviews, which as he wrote to Crosland in 1965 reflected his interest in ‘studying CASE as a specimen of a pressure group in evolution’ rather than directly taking an

³⁸³ Ibid., Rowntree to F.E.L.O. 19.6. 62

³⁸⁴ Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL, CAA, Cambridge Association for the Advancement of State Education, 1961–1968.

interest in its aims.³⁸⁵ With much BBC history in this period we can observe a fascination with lobbying and pressure groups, especially those who were willing to commit their voices to sound recording. However, this interest should not be mistaken as a desire by the BBC to give credence to any organization that challenged the continuity of educational practice.

Changes in BBC Guidelines on Coverage of Secondary Education

For the first time since beginning this chronological coverage of the representation of secondary education by the BBC, with 1944 as a start date, it is only for the period 1960–1965 that evidence is accessible at BBC WAC showing a clearly outlined change of policy in terms of how the continuity of the 1944 Education Act can be actively questioned by the BBC. The coverage of secondary education was being steered in a different direction at the BBC in light of the Crowther Report of July 1959. This Report offered numerous recommendations to improve the inadequacies of current secondary education provision by LEAs. The Report itself received relatively little BBC coverage, with only one single programme being directly dedicated to it, a BBC TV evening broadcast ‘Facts and Figures’ which asked: ‘15–18 Should we educate our children between these ages and if we do what kind of education should it be?’³⁸⁶ Other programmes were informed by the report but made only occasional references to it. Yet despite these incidental references to the Report, in terms of the way programmes were named and listed, behind the scenes this report, once it was reflected upon in the months after its publication, marked a significant shift in BBC policy towards the coverage of secondary education. The fierce loyalty to grammar schools did not evaporate overnight but it was challenged for the first time by staff in senior positions. Scupham writing to the Controller of Third in April 1960 declared: ‘We are now witnessing the collapse of the first attempt to implement the 1944 Education Act, and a large-scale reversal of policy by the Ministry of Education.’ He goes on to explain that parents have rejected the assumptions of the Act and that the claims of educational psychologists have become ‘more tentative in their classifications.’ Scupham also mentions the Crowther Report endorsing these tendencies and supporting both experiments with comprehensive schools ‘going

³⁸⁵ BBC WAC, RCont: Anthony Crosland, File III, 1963–1967, Keen to Crosland, 9.2.65.

³⁸⁶ ‘Facts and Figures looks at the Crowther Report.’ Compiled by Frank Blackaby. Charts designed and animated by Alfred Wurmser. Introduced by Dick Taverne. Presented by Peter Bennet Stone. tx: BBC TV 25.5.60.

steadily ahead' and more academic examinations at secondary moderns.³⁸⁷ Scupham was not yet a member of the Central Advisory Council for Education but was shortly to become one when the Newsom Report began its research in 1961.

It would be a mistake to imply that the role of the ASG in BBC programme making had waned. It was more that it was sharing its territory with a wider range of contributors with different but overlapping vested interests. Certain figures such as Catherine Avent, who was a member of the Central Advisory Council for Education for both The Crowther Report and The Newsom Report, appeared to have had a significant impact on programme making in the early 1960s. As with Miles, Avent was one of the first women to be invited to join the ASG. Only Lady Ogilvie and Dame Evelyn Sharp predated her in membership. Avent was educated at Lady Margaret Hall and had served in the WRNS for five years during the 1940s. In the 1950s she turned to a 'career in careers' advising young people on their working futures. After acting as consultant and a contributor to programmes on the transfer from school to work in the late 1950s and early 1960s she then wrote to the then Head of Further Education Unit at the BBC, Rowntree, pushing for a series of programmes that analysed the 1944 Act in the contemporary climate.

Rowntree had long been involved with programmes representing secondary education at the BBC as has already been made apparent. Avent emphasized the value of programmes that 'interpret the present educational situation to its actual or potential clients ...' and cited the popularity of the ACE magazine *Where?* As evidence that there is an audience seeking 'reasoned opinion' on educational matters.³⁸⁸ With changes of BBC programme producers immediately following this correspondence, the surviving evidence appears to be interrupted in BBC files and the extent to which Avent was directly responsible for such programmes on education coming about in the next three years following her letter to Rowntree, is not something which can be precisely measured. However, programmes closely resembling those she suggested, included a radio series specifically designed to encourage married women back into teaching, *Second Start*, did become a reality in the early to mid 1960s. Another significant Series which looks as if it originated with

³⁸⁷ BBC WAC, Education Talks Files, 8, John Scupham, Head of Educational Broadcasting, to Controller Third Programme, Subject: 'Education'. 11 April 1960. This memo has survived as addressed to the Controller of Third but implies in the content that this 'collapse' is something discussed more widely at the BBC.

³⁸⁸ BBC WAC RCont: Catherine Avent, File 1, 1955–1962, correspondence includes Rodney Bennet to HFE Proposed Series on Educational System (Miss Avent) 2.8.61.

Avent's backing was 'Education Today', a set of broadcasts on educational opportunities from nursery through to Adult Education, first transmitted in 1963 and organized by Blishen, Groombridge and Rodney Bennet. When the Series was published in book form in the same year Rowntree was thanked for her 'continued encouragement.'³⁸⁹ Several of the long-term ASG members who had held the roles of CEOs and also happened to be enthusiastic about involvement with broadcasting, were now either already retired or were moving into retirement so they could no longer present themselves as figureheads on air with a particular local mission. Newsom had retired in the 1950s and his replacement as CEO for Hertfordshire, Sidney Broad CBE, serving in the Role of CEO for Hertfordshire from 1958 to 1971 had no involvement with the BBC or the ASG.

Of course the geographical proximity of Hertfordshire to London meant that it was still a convenient location for broadcasting but Newsom's steering of the microphones and cameras on this county in particular was no longer centre stage.

Grammar Schools

If around a fifth of the nation's secondary school pupils in 1960–1965 were being educated in grammar schools, the BBC now presumed that the public was more interested in what was happening in the educational experiences of the other 80 percent of pupils in England and Wales. James was no longer focused on defending the grammar school. His interest had turned to higher education. None of the government educational reports or popular campaigns of the early to mid 1960s were particularly interested in grammar schools. When it came to coverage in BBC broadcasting, it was generally assumed that the pupils were articulate so there was no particular curiosity about capturing their voices on tape recorders for an audience of radio listeners. As grammar school buildings were generally old and established, from the point of view of documentary filmmakers, there was nothing new and innovative to show the viewer. There was a further purely practical consideration: the buildings were designed before it was imagined that cameras, microphones and cables would ever need to visit these spaces to capture any evidence of learning, so these practical restrictions also shaped what documentary film makers chose to present to viewers.

³⁸⁹ E. Blishen (ed.), *Education Today: the existing opportunities* (based on broadcast scripts by Edward Blishen and Brian Groombridge) (London: BBC, 1963).

Jackson and Marsden's study of working class pupils in grammar school took place within the West Riding of Yorkshire so CEO Clegg, who made infrequent appearances in BBC broadcasts across the postwar years, was invited on air to discuss the ways in which grammar schools were not enabling working class children to get to the top in numbers 'at all proportionate to their frequency in the population as a whole.' Clegg acknowledged the difficulties for working class children in not having quiet space to do their homework, or parents who understood how to get the best opportunities from the education system. However, he argued that schools were already beginning to solve the problem with attempts at 'many sided enrichment of the human spirit' and local ways to circumvent eleven-plus selection:

'Comprehensive schools, overlapping courses in grammar and modern schools with the grammar school sixth form available to both ... and something I met with the other day for the first time, cross-setting for academic subjects between a grammar school and its neighbouring modern school...' ³⁹⁰

While Clegg remained hopeful about providing the 11-16 educational provision to a wider group of working class academic pupils through a less divisive approach to 'types of child' than the 1944 Act had envisaged, his biggest concern remained: the 'pernicious' lack of sixth form support for university entrance for those from working class homes and subsequently the lack of support and housing available at university once these young people had taken up places. ³⁹¹

The Labour party manifesto in 1964 was to push for increasing the opportunities of grammar schools to all secondary age pupils. On air, certain broadcasters such as David Rubinstein who had been born in the United States jibbed at the English in 1964 for clinging to outdated rules in grammar schools and elsewhere. He questioned why in his local community, grammar school boys and girls were forbidden from associating together out of school while wearing uniform. He also wondered why eating ice-cream in school uniform in the street was such a terrible thing for the English to endure and suggests that if the English hope for the young to stay on beyond the minimum school leaving age then they need to stop suggesting that these

³⁹⁰ BBC WAC. Microfilm radio scripts reel: T80 Clar-Clo.

³⁹¹ Ibid.,

kind of social faux pas are ‘barbarian’. Rubinstein suggested that the English need to realize: ‘Teachers are not gods; their pupils are not beasts.’³⁹² Longstanding BBC employee, Gibson had worked for the BBC since the 1940s but it was not until 1965 that he was taking his tape recorder into a Midland grammar school to discuss the ‘pressures’ of this environment. Gibson had championed ‘spare time’ and all manner of adventures, often outdoors, from sailing to beach combing, and horse riding to bird watching, so the pressures of an examination environment had not preoccupied him before.³⁹³

Grammar schools were discussed from time to time in BBC broadcast in the years 1960–1965, often as if programme makers were playing a game with the audience. Familiar and comforting statements and voices supporting grammar schools were wheeled out and then midway through a programme this delivery would be challenged with another set of issues presented as if these were perspectives that the listener had yet to consider. This is not to imply that all coverage of grammar schools in the period 1960–1965 excluded innovative practice in grammar schools. Since 1946, *The Listener*, whether consciously or unconsciously on the part of its picture editors, appears to have shown an affectionate attachment to imagery promoting the traditions of the grammar school, most often with familiar visual tropes. However, *The Listener* illustrations for the time period 1960–1965 began to offer a window on these educational spaces, which was significantly less predictable. By 1965 this publication was including an illustration still from the BBC broadcast, *Horizon*, showing pupils at Westlain Grammar School, Brighton, learning physics from ‘teaching machines’ placed on their individual modern desks. A slightly smiling, attentive male teacher dressed in a contemporary suit is seen bending over to view a pupil’s interaction with a machine (Figure 70). This is not a dissimilar image from those in the period that depict secondary modern and comprehensive school teachers in documentary film, when the editorial decision was to show them in a favourable, nurturing light. What is distinct about this particular grammar school image is that the pupil is not being asked to do anything practical, reinforcing the idea that that is not necessary for those of a certain intellect, and the teacher is not directly interacting

³⁹² BBC WAC, Microfilm Script Reel ‘Woman’s Hour’ Films 75/76. Rubinstein (Born 1932) studied for PhD at LSE and worked at the University of Hull. Publications include D. Rubinstein and B. Simon *The evolution of the comprehensive school, 1926–1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969).

³⁹³ See T. Gibson and J. Singleton *The Spare Time Book: a Practical Guide to Adventure* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1955) & footnote 227.

with the pupil. The teacher appears to exhibit a curious sense of awe about the way in which the pupil is engrossed in the machine. The machine is on the eye level of the pupil and not of the teacher.

Most of the BBC documentary film footage considered in this chapter, and dating from the years 1960–1965, was far more interested in showing what went on in secondary modern and comprehensive schools than in grammar schools. However, it can be argued that Cawston's widely reviewed 1962 documentary 'The Schools' gave a surreptitious vote of confidence to the supposed wisdom and unflappable quality of grammar school teachers and the confidence and trust that grammar school head teachers could place in them. Cawston, like Michael Ingrams, was educated at Westminster School, but all his subsequent education came through the Armed Forces.³⁹⁴ His 1962 BBC documentary 'The Schools' featured teachers from all different schools in England and Wales speaking to the camera as a series of 'talking heads.' Cawston's final edit gave space to grammar school teachers expressing doubts about any change from the grammar school system. In an untidy staffroom in Wales, grammar school teachers are shown marking books and asking 'Why do away with something that has proved its worth through the years and put something that has not proved its worth in its place?' A further teacher refers to the grammar school as a 'Welsh Tradition.'³⁹⁵ Most memorably, Cawston's positive recollections of his wartime service and subsequent related education supported by the Armed Forces, perhaps explain why he chose the Leeds Modern School headmaster, Frank Holland, who headed this boys grammar school from 1948–1971, to give both occasional reassuring interjections and the final unchallenged reflections on school teaching at the close of the programme. Holland commends the experience of the armed forces on educators. He told the viewer that ex-military men are needed in schools because they have lived a life outside the classroom and won't find small mistakes 'monstrous' (Figure 71). A genial grammar school master argued that men who served in World War Two are needed to keep a perspective on school situations – hinting at a strong connection between masculinity and national strength. Holland can also be heard remarking, as he sits in his gown in his wood paneled study, that he 'simply trusts the masters'. They are 'In the presence of their own consciences. Self-accounting

³⁹⁴ For further discussion of Cawston and the networks of both Westminster School and the Armed Forces which shaped his work in broadcasting, see L. Hoare 'Dons not Clowns: Isaiah Berlin challenges Cawston's edit of the educator', *History of Education*, 46, 2017, 1.

³⁹⁵ 'The Schools', BBC, Producer & Script: Richard Cawston, tx: 18.9.62. BFI identifier: 15006.

persons.’³⁹⁶ The viewer was left with the implication that these trustworthy grammar school masters have developed their reliability through the experience of being in the armed forces.

John Beavan’s ‘Towards a Grammar School Culture’ broadcast in 1963, on the Home and subsequently printed in *The Listener*, provided a compelling autobiographical account of falling in love with a teacher who coaxed him to success in passing the eleven-plus in the predominantly impoverished educational environment of central Manchester. On first glance this account suggests that it related to educational experiences after the 1944 Act, but actually on closer inspection Beavan’s story relates to his schooling in the early 1930s and his subsequent enrolment in a Central School where he loathed the emphasis on neatness and the sense that pupils were being prepared to be ‘first class little clerks.’³⁹⁷ With parental involvement, and the reader presumes payment of fees though that is not specified, Beavan subsequently transferred to Manchester Grammar and speaks with affection about the casual elements of the experience – ironically at a point where Holland Park Comprehensive was being marketed by the Foreign Office in documentary film, with formal and traditional costumes for educators, as if to imply that this would link this comprehensive more directly to the status of a grammar school. Beavan recalled the experience of being included in an informal middle class intelligentsia at Manchester grammar school. In much the same vein as Frank Holland’s observations to camera recorded a year earlier, Beavan perceived an assured confidence, not power struggles:

‘At the Primary school and at the Central school the teachers appeared to have a higher social status than us children and our parents ... the masters at the grammar school – at least the younger ones – dressed with undergraduate casualness. They did not bother much about shining their shoes, they used slang ... it was taken for granted that you were privileged, that you would occupy a position of responsibility in society, and that you had an obligation to society derived from your privilege.’³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ Ibid.,

³⁹⁷ *The Listener*, 7 March 1963.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.,

Beavan was discussing not the postwar grammar school experience but the interwar years of scholarship and fee-paying culture in a direct grant grammar school. Yet again *The Listener* is using nostalgia for a set of opportunities which may have changed significantly in terms of what was available for the children of the contemporary listener to the broadcast or readers of this article. Beavan does however, in the later parts of his broadcast, bring his argument up to date and discusses what he labels the 'left-wing' suspicion of grammar schools post 1944, a suspicion that grammar schools distort the honest values of working culture and create a gulf between the generations. His personal grievance with the grammar schools he has visited in the early 1960s is that they 'have not incorporated the old public-school virtue; that they do not emphasise that a certain amount of respect for conventional things is as essential to society as a certain amount of non conformity and revolt.' He calls for grammar schools not to imitate the paternalistic culture of public school but to find something more fraternal. He also commends his 1930s Manchester grammar experience as being enriched by diversity: 'Germans, Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Turks' and suggests this diverse cultural intake, the values of his Methodist socialist home and the values of the school were all compatible in their shared educational aims.³⁹⁹

It is the working class values, which Beavan's talk assumes must inevitably get lost in the process of being educated. In his assumptions that working class culture carries 'obstacles', Beavan follows Halsey's 1963 BBC broadcast on Third, which quotes Jackson and Marsden: 'A mixture of frustration, drive and ambition can impel the modestly gifted child through the difficulties of primary and grammar school into the middle class invitations of college, university and a professional career.' Correspondence in response and published by *The Listener* included a subtle examination of how working class boys are accepted in grammar schools if they show a consciousness that they have played no part in forming the tradition which they are expected to revere. The following week the letter pages include a more direct questioning of what Beavan was actually looking for in a 'fraternal' school culture: John Castellain's letter from Bristol insists that this fraternalistic culture can only be

³⁹⁹ Ibid.,

found in comprehensive schools and that comprehensive schooling is the logical result of what Beavan is seeking.⁴⁰⁰

The idea that the working class grammar school pupil may find himself isolated and in some ways disconnected from his peers links back to Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* but this dilemma is not widely discussed on air in the early 1960s, although Clegg's broadcast made brief references to it. When Bantock pieced together his 1963 critique of Higher Education 'Educating Half Ourselves' on Third his initial drafts showed no concern for the perceived predicaments of working class grammar school pupils. While Bantock wished to broadcast on the perceived crisis in the level and range of consciousness that people were experiencing in modern culture, it was Neil Crichton Miller who intervened and saw this broadcast as an opportunity to introduce issues relating to the grammar school. The passages below were not Bantock's words but the additions of Miller, which Bantock agreed to in order to have his programme broadcast:

'The first generation of grammar school boy, for instance, often encounters a way of speaking and thinking which may be quite alien to the practices and prejudices of his home. He becomes de-rooted; and the smatterings of culture he receives are not supported by his life out of school ... [we must] see our problem as apart from the immediate pressure of our desires and anxieties and have some possibility of seeing [these anxieties] as they truly are. Then the grammar school boy that I referred to earlier will be both rooted and free.'⁴⁰¹

In 1964, Raymond King's Home broadcast 'Going Comprehensive' offered a more overtly optimistic account of conversion of secondary schools from grammar to comprehensive. King had been headmaster of Wandsworth Grammar School from 1932–1963. King also had a longstanding interest in the unfolding of the 1944 Act, having taken the role of a Rotarian 'observer' for the initial organization of UNESCO when it was founded in 1945. (Figure 72) Wandsworth school was then transforming from grammar to comprehensive. Such transformations had taken place almost a decade earlier for girls' grammars but the parallel metamorphosis for boys suggested

⁴⁰⁰ *The Listener*. See the letters' pages for 14 & 21 March 1963.

⁴⁰¹ BBC WAC RCont: G H Bantock Talks 2: 1963–1967.

that these changes were no longer simply small experiments. *The Listener* featured subsequent letters of indignation that King had not defended the grammar school. Janet Maclean Todd, a classicist, Oxford Conservative councillor and wife of the headmaster of the Independent school, Stowe, reprimanded King for not recognizing that Grammar schools provided the appropriate unthreatening scale of school where intellectuals could thrive. It was Maclean Todd's letter that inspired a defence from King himself in the letters pages where he let rip on her lack of recognition that part of education was humanity and compassion and that the raising of the school leaving age needed to make space for that kind of learning:

‘And with what Pecksniffian piety she rounds on the boys who chose to serve the nation's need of skilled craftsman and technicians by completing five year courses instead of leaving at the earliest moment for unskilled and blind-alley jobs!’⁴⁰²

Maclean Todd writes back with further indignation however, this time quoting the President of the Headmasters Association, to support her suspicion of comprehensive education: ‘it touches not only the nature of professional status but also the fundamentals of democratic procedure – the traditional practice of government by consultation and not by imposition.’⁴⁰³ In this instance, though *The Listener* does not give her the last word. A week later H Barlow suggested in the letters pages that Maclean Todd pay a visit to Churchfields Comprehensive in West Bromwich, a Richard Sheppard & Partners designed school which opened in 1957. (Figure 73) Barlow argues this will help her overcome her ignorance of comprehensives. He also asks how exactly the Tripartite System can be considered the result of ‘government by consultation’ and wants to know who was consulted.⁴⁰⁴

‘The Human Side: Two Bright Boys’ was a 1965 BBC television documentary on grammar schools which has not survived as a visible recording in any publically accessible form, but for which the script and some production files have survived at BBC WAC. The *Radio Times* listing from March 1965 initially suggests that this is a programme, which purely champions the grammar School. Only the reader who

⁴⁰² *The Listener*, 19 March 1965, page 473.

⁴⁰³ *The Listener*, 19 March 1964, page 474.

⁴⁰⁴ *The Listener*, Letters' pages, 26 March 1964.

pursues the text further realizes that this is a programme designed to present a pitch battle between the relative merits of grammar and comprehensive schools. The story is allegedly told ‘through the eyes of two pupils’, suggesting a ‘current battle of the schools.’ The script shows a few contributions by two boys, Peter Holliday and Richard Gulliver, both 16 and a half and both, according to production file correspondence, ‘from the same kind of home.’⁴⁰⁵ However, most of the lengthy excerpts of speech in the broadcast were from adults. Like most of the BBC coverage from this period the main debate about types of schools in ‘Two Bright Boys’ focuses on the secondary education of boys. Girls’ grammar school education gets very little coverage at all in this period by the BBC. As this chapter evolves it will become apparent that the girl in secondary modern school is a subject of somewhat wistful fantasy amongst documentary filmmakers at the BBC while the grammar school girl remains invisible.

The schools featured in ‘Two Bright Boys’ are Bishop Vesey Grammar School, founded in 1540, in Sutton Coldfield and Wigston Guthlaxton Senior High School in Leicester, which pioneered the Leicestershire plan in 1957 and enabled children who had come through a comprehensive middle school, to progress to this High School if they were staying on beyond the school leaving age. For the first time on the BBC we here witness an interest in secondary education in documentary film, which draws no evidence from Hertfordshire. Bill Wedderburn introduces the programme. At the time of making this programme he had recently taken up the post of Cassel Professor of Commercial Law at the London School of Economics. He was also married to industrial sociologist from the University of London, Dorothy Wedderburn.

‘Two Bright Boys’ started with a reminder that only five percent of the nations’ children are educated in Independent schools and as a consequence the relative merits of grammar and comprehensive secondary education is ‘of enormous personal interest to thousands of parents.’ Bill Wedderburn, who was a humanist, refers somewhat wryly to the motto of the Bishop Vesey grammar school: ‘The right hand of god has exalted me.’ A sixteen-year-old Bishop Vesey pupil then explains the merits of tradition, a school orchestra, rugby, opera and the sense of safety that you are not ‘blundering into something that might fail.’ The grammar school headmaster also echoes these points with a reminder that the weight of history inspires confidence.

⁴⁰⁵ BBC WAC Microfilm television scripts: Films 11/12, TV Talks (1965–1966).

Some predictable discussion follows on exam success and Oxbridge entrance. There are a few hesitant voices reflecting the disadvantages of being in the lower streams in a grammar school but overall there is a consensus of satisfied and proud voices averse to change. Pedley also contributed to the discussion, after the evidence of the boys has been heard. Pedley had published *The Comprehensive School* two years earlier and was at the time of making this programme Director of Education at the University of Exeter. His only challenging remark, which made it into the final edit and which related to what the audience has heard so far, is that the lower streams in grammar schools are neglected. The footage then moves to Leicestershire and Wigston Guthlaxton, which turned from grammar to comprehensive in 1957. This was a co-educational school, in contrast to the boys-only Bishop Vesey. Science and modern languages were discussed by pupils and although there is a brief acknowledgment that metal work lessons were also enjoyed in a well-equipped workshop the main thrust of the discussion is turned by the masters to the excellent academic results. Then some further details are given on the Leicestershire plan and the progression to High School for the most academic pupils. A comprehensive pupil also applauds competitive sport. Hinting at the emotional maturity of a non-selective community, the pupil observed it is not considered a ‘tragedy’ when the school loses. The comprehensive pupils are presented as more sympathetic and less self-interested than the grammar school pupils. Wedderburn concludes that perhaps grammar schools remain ‘because people like being selected.’ He concludes that the 1960s is a time when nothing should stand in the way of young people being granted the fullest opportunities in secondary education.⁴⁰⁶

Much of the evidence of BBC broadcasts 1960–1965 does not point to grammar schools being of particular interest other than as environments that offered some ‘safe’ traditions. However, some filmmakers were actually using the educational experiences of grammar school pupils and leaving them unattributed to a grammar school education. For instance, Boorman’s ‘Citizen 63: Marion Knight’, which presented the contemporary story of Marion Knight, a 16-year-old pupil at John Pounds Secondary Modern, Portsmouth, gave credit to her musical education provided at this girls’ school. The headmistress, Mary Bray, a regular BBC radio contributor and member of the BBC Religious Broadcasting Committee, advocated

⁴⁰⁶ BBC WAC Microfilm television scripts: Films 11/12 (1965–1966).

music and movement and the learning of instruments for her secondary age female pupils.⁴⁰⁷ However, the scenes from the film that show music education within John Pounds only last a few seconds. The prolonged film footage that gave extensive coverage to the playing of instruments by young people actually took place outside of any school, on the beach at Hayling Island. Here Marion and her female friends dance in bikinis on the sand while the musical accompaniment is played by her boyfriend, Nigel, and his friends on clarinets. These were boys from Portsmouth Grammar school. None of this connection with the local grammar school is credited on the film. The viewer is simply told that Marion met these young musicians through the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This example is significant in that shows the struggle that film makers like Boorman faced when they were trying to present a revolutionary spirit of change, fuelled by protest groups and other informal associations, and yet in the process they did not acknowledge the formal environments such as grammar school orchestras, that actually taught the musical skills that were being celebrated on film.⁴⁰⁸ Decades later it was the Portsmouth Grammar school which was to host screenings of the film and identify their alumni in the film. John Pounds Secondary Modern no longer existed to champion Marion and Mary Bray the headmistress had by the late 1960s, moved on to head an Independent Methodist boarding school.⁴⁰⁹

Secondary Modern Schools

‘Kings Hill Modern’, transmitted in 1960, was one of the earliest television documentaries to be considered for the period 1960–1965, which took as its setting a secondary modern school. Like many BBC programmes showing schools in action and dating between the late 1940s and the early 1960s, it was filmed in Hertfordshire

⁴⁰⁷ See the contributions of M. Bray ‘Religion in the State School’ in *Religious Education: drift or decision*, P. Jebb (ed.) (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968).

⁴⁰⁸ Writing in 2003, Boorman described how in the early 1960s he believed ‘social revolution’ was imminent but in later years saw the ‘Establishment’ disarming ‘dissidents’ by inviting them to their Clubs and Stately Homes. Boorman, *Suburban Boy*, 101.

⁴⁰⁹ Mary Bray left LEA employment in the late 1960s to be headmistress of the Independent girls’ boarding school Hunmanby Hall, East Yorkshire. See *Opus*, the magazine for former pupils, parents and friends of Portsmouth Grammar School, issue 9, 6.3.15, for their coverage of ‘Citizen 63: Marion Knight’. Knight remembered Bray: ‘She met Boorman through broadcasting ... was local to Portsmouth and I am (almost) certain emergency trained at Portsmouth Teacher Training College (Milton). She went to some lengths to point out to us that she didn’t have a degree ... She was unpopular amongst the most reactionary right-wing Councillors and their bedfellows, the local press ... she believed there was a social responsibility to educate young people about birth control.’ (email to the author, 6.6.12).

at Stopsley Secondary Modern school, Luton.⁴¹⁰ It was billed as a dramatized documentary so the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction are blurred in a way that is not dissimilar from what is now constructed in contemporary reality television. The only information the viewer is given about the location however is that the school was built in 1949 and is set on the fringe of a new housing estate. Already small echoes of concern were taking shape about the education of the poetic spirit in secondary moderns and the implications of valuable English lessons to ensure long-term confident literacy. The programme focused on parents who were farmers with limited literacy unwilling for their son, Terry, to stay on at school although he is making recent progress and wants to bring in millstone grit and other local materials for a class exhibition. The promise of a LEA grant to help him stay on does not persuade his parents.

Terry's teacher Mr. Burroughs made his own reading books about local industry to capture the interest of his 'Retarded' class. Terry's head teacher warned his mother that he will have lost his basic standards of literacy if he missed out on the extra time to reinforce his knowledge and suggested that farmers need to read in order to sign paper work. She pointed out that she could not read herself and insists that her husband was adamant that their son will leave school at the first opportunity. The other main character in this production was Marilyn who is shown in discursive lessons with her teacher discussing magazines and word meanings. Marilyn's teacher Miss Latham was against the introduction of exams in secondary moderns to 'satisfy confounded employers.' She believed in education based on the young people's own interests.

As with much of the BBC coverage of secondary moderns in this period *The Listener* was impatient with and dismissive of the programme. Reviewer, Peter Pound, betrayed a lack of familiarity with the current conversational concerns of many working people who did not have a set agenda for social mobility and instead wanted their children to experience continuity with the older generation's own working lives:

‘The farmer who begrudged his son two extra terms at school an unconvincing character and almost a caricature. What sort of farmer can

⁴¹⁰ BBC WAC Microfilm television scripts: Films 39/40: TV Drama Scripts.

nowadays maintain that ‘book-learning’ is a waste of time for a farmer’s son? And do mothers really stand on street corners and discuss with teenager daughters the relative merits of further education and getting a job?’⁴¹¹

The Listener illustrated its review with a photo showing Nicholas Selby playing a teacher in the programme as a rather hunched uncertain figure behind the desk. The camera angle makes the pupil Terry (standing) and the other pupils appear larger and more imposing than the teacher. (Figure 74) However, Audience Research, which admittedly was from a small sample, as at the time of transmission Westerns were playing on ITV, was very sympathetic to the programme considering it to be ‘unvarnished’ and ‘realistic.’ Audiences thought it showed the need for a shared teacher and parent understanding and that it gave much needed publicity to the range of ability that was present in secondary modern schools and the varied curriculum that teachers were attempting to provide for slow learners through to GCE takers.⁴¹²

William Taylor’s 1961 radio broadcast on the Third, ‘The Secondary Modern and Social Realism’, is unusual amongst radio coverage in the early 1960s in that it places the secondary modern school in a more detailed history of education in the twentieth century, more so than any other programme broadcast in those years. Taylor had yet to publish his 1963 book on secondary moderns at the time of making the broadcast. Maclure had been pestering the BBC for an opportunity to discuss the 1902 Education Act on air for almost a decade but had been turned down. Taylor was given that space and he explored the historical misgivings about vocational education, which had plagued the development of the secondary modern in his opinion. He gave teachers the credit for realizing that vocational education works, that pupils like it and work harder, but implied that the snobberies of educationalists who found vocational education ‘suspect’ had stalled developments. Taylor continued to explore what had held back the integrity of vocational education:

‘Together with the insulation of educational thought and ideals from the facts of social life there existed an unwarranted belief in the social autonomy of the educational system. Such a belief was characteristic not only of unofficial educational thinking but was also evident in many of the postwar policy

⁴¹¹ *The Listener*, 25 August 1960, page 316.

⁴¹² BBC WAC Audience Research Report: ‘Kings Hill Modern’, BBC TV, tx:16.8.60.

statements and pamphlets of suggestions issued by the Ministry of Education ... Modern school teachers found that the criteria of excellence are determined by society, and not by the schools ... [but] There were other internal forces working against such 'progressive' change. The system of social control within most schools is essentially authoritarian, and is not conducive to the free group work in terms of which such curricula could express itself.'⁴¹³

The secondary modern school often becomes the focus for BBC radio and documentary film programmes in the years 1960–1965 when a dialogue between pupils and teachers was being presented to the listener or viewer. In the BBC coverage for these years, that dialogue is not usually hemmed in by the inquisitiveness of teachers, instead the teachers act as facilitators and lively performers encouraging pupils to ask questions. The pupils themselves, are sometimes given the last word, by BBC film editors. In John Krish's documentary on secondary moderns, 'Our School', which was initiated by the NUT and although it was subsequently shown on BBC television it had no editorial influence from the BBC. The editing of Krish gives the teachers the last word and shows them as always one step ahead in their debates with friendly but ultimately quite needy young people. Pupils are cornered into saying 'I don't know' and at times teachers raise their voices forcefully, and young people raise their eyebrows surreptitiously, as they are corrected by educators who are portrayed as saviours on account of their cultural knowledge and ability to reason (Figure 75). The BBC coverage of secondary moderns, by contrast, suggested that the young can be inspired by their formal educators and still carry that questioning and confidence in their verbal dexterity to a place of foresight that might outpace the perspective of the older generation, and apply beyond the classroom. This is not surprising given the NUT wanted a film that promoted teachers, whereas the BBC wanted to promote itself as an educational force.

In the case of programmes made by the BBC, it is important to recognize the tension between the faith that the BBC editors were attempting to place in young people and the subsequent suspicious reaction to this by some BBC publications and Radio Producers. The influence of post-war ideas about English teaching was a shared

⁴¹³ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T535 Tay–Tee.

interest of some filmmakers and teachers involved in broadcasting, but there was a gulf between this outlook and a more reactionary view that informed many reviewers of BBC programmes. These reviewers doubted the worth of self-expression unless the individual concerned was first well versed in a certain canon of knowledge. As the opening quotation of this chapter shows, David Holbrook (1923–2011), believed that a confident command of written and spoken language was an important aim in a truly democratic society. After Military Service and studying English with Leavis at Downing College, Cambridge, Holbrook taught WEA classes and the lower streams at Bassingbourn Village College. His book *English for Maturity* (1961) focused on secondary modern experience, and non-selective school experience, rather than grammar schools. In the same year he returned to academia becoming a Fellow of Kings College, Cambridge. He had been making recordings of his pupils since 1956, initially on a borrowed portable Grundig device. It was a while before the BBC was convinced that these voices he was capturing had sufficient merit to be heard by an audience. Holbrook was not employed by the BBC. Janet Walters in the BBC Talks department had written to E Molony in 1958 pointing out that she was avoiding responding to Holbrook's request that there should be a series of talks on teaching in secondary modern schools. Walters observed 'I do not think this is really our cup of tea.' Holbrook wrote to Dick Keen, a champion of the use of recorded classroom voices in radio programmes, in 1961 remarking how local BBC staff in Norwich were shocked at the absence of broadcast coverage on his teaching work. Holbrook often referred half comically in his letters to the BBC as 'Templum Artium Tartium' and in this instance observed that its mills 'grind exceedingly slow'. He goes on to express his wish to make 'something deep' for Third, which shows how crucial developing the imagination is for these young people in the classroom, so that they might develop self-respect. The Third were unconvinced and remarked in 1961: 'Sophistication is not Mr. Holbrook's pack of cards.'⁴¹⁴ The eventual broadcast of a programme that used Holbrook's arguments and the voices of his pupils appeared late in 1961 on Home in the form of 'Shall we Throw the Dregs Away'. In the *Radio Times* it was presented as offering a direct challenge to the idea that preparing pupils in secondary moderns for public exam success was the key aim. Holbrook is credited as arguing that these pupils need instead to express something of their selves.

⁴¹⁴ BBC WAC RCont: David Holbrook, File 1, 1949–1962.

As was hinted above, self-expression by school pupils was not always well met by BBC reviewers. It wasn't simply around issues of secondary education that this self-expression was regarded with mistrust. Writing in *The Listener* television review section in 1960, Hilary Corke was aghast that Ludovic Kennedy had taken a camera and a microphone into the Science Museum and asked school children whether or not Britain should invest in Space Travel. Corke dismissed such an enquiry as 'ludicrous' and concluded her indignant response: 'the sooner it is realised the better, that no purpose whatsoever is served by asking quite uneducated persons about subjects wildly outside the scope of their competence.'⁴¹⁵ When Boorman showed the main subject of his film of John Pounds Secondary Modern Portsmouth, Marion Knight, in conversation with her teacher and edited her voice so that fifteen-year-old Marion, not the teacher, had the last word, on the subject of freedom, this may have alarmed certain traditionalists. (Figure 76) The unnamed narrator of Boorman's 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight' only erratically interjects, allowing Marion herself to do much of the narration. However, when this male narrator speaks his interventions encourage a damning response to Marion on behalf of any cautious audience members: the narrator tells us that Marion is 'obsessively concerned with personal freedom.'

Boorman's edit allowed Marion to narrate the final sequences of the documentary by reading aloud her poetry in her own voice. This proved too much to bear for *The Listener* reviewer Anthony Burgess. He credited Marion with having 'a certain decent honesty ... and some intelligence' but dismissed her poetry as 'childishly pretentious in language.' With no ethical concern in this era for a dismissive swipe at the creative work of a teenager, and a certain lack of imagination that Marion herself would ever come to read this review, Burgess's target, however, is not really Marion. Instead he wants to knock the pedagogy of Holbrook and those interested in English teaching for self-expression in secondary modern schools. Burgess wondered if Marion would have been more successful with a 'better education' and laments his sense that she had been 'held back and kept immature by factors not inherent in her own personality.'⁴¹⁶ Burgess's ignorance of secondary modern school leaving ages, and perhaps of the school leaving age at all in the non-fee paying system is betrayed by the fact he understands Marion to be 18, not 16. The school leaving age was 15 when Boorman shot the footage for this film, during 1962

⁴¹⁵ *The Listener*, 10 March 1960.

⁴¹⁶ *The Listener*, 19 September 1963, page 440.

and 1963 and Marion was aged 16 and 17 when the footage was recorded over the period of a year. Burgess had taught and acted as an education officer in Malaya, having joined the British Colonial Service in the 1950s so he had spent no time working in English LEA schools.

The scenes from Cawston's 1962 'The Schools' showing secondary modern English teacher, Peter Emmens blowing bubbles for his class at Margaret Tabor Secondary School, Essex, to keep them focused while they discussed the word meanings that could describe them – 'iridescent' for instance – has become an oft-repeated film sequence in subsequent programmes looking for historical evidence of dialogue between pupils and teachers (Figure 77). 'The Schools' received innumerable reviews and some reviewers delighted in this scene.⁴¹⁷ The BBC's own review by Peter Green, published in *The Listener*, sounded more sceptical. Green reflected on the phobia he attributed to LEAs, namely the 'fear of talking down to people and belittling their putative intelligence.'⁴¹⁸ He goes on to imply that Emmen's educational tactics were because the class were 'pretty dim and needed visual aids.' Emmen's wrote back in protest at this misrepresentation:

'I teach English through the senses for the sole reason that I believe it to be the right method ... I should use the same method in a grammar school ... most disturbing of all is Mr. Green's assumption that in secondary modern schools we still think of our pupils as 'pretty dim'. To do so would be wrong, for it would be to join in that pernicious kind of thinking that has divided us into two nations, the academically able and the others, the inferiors...'⁴¹⁹

Not every programme that the BBC broadcast on the topic of secondary modern education in this period demonstrated an optimistic faith in the power of English teaching. The BBC Television Series 'Landmarks', which began in 1964, dedicated its second episode to 'The School'. This documentary opened and closed with Ewan MacColl singing the theme song to the whole series: 'The Ballad of Accounting'.

⁴¹⁷ BBC WAC, T32/1832/2 TV Talks has a section on Press coverage collected by Cawston. For example: I E New Daily 20.9.62 referred to the "dedicated language teacher" and the curriculum being "positively attractive". *The Schoolmaster* 28.9.62 referred to Rowe and Emmens writing articles on personal writing. *The Sunday Citizen* 23.9.62 "He was just a secondary modern school man but what a splendid education his class must be getting."

⁴¹⁸ *The Listener*, 27 September 1962, page 488.

⁴¹⁹ *The Listener*, 4 October 1962.

‘The School’ was filmed at Warslow Secondary School in Staffordshire and this programme stands out amongst BBC coverage on secondary education postwar as being a very rare example of either cameras or sound recording devices taking evidence of schooling in Staffordshire. Warslow School had been purpose built and opened in 1959 with 210 pupils, bussed in from surrounding villages. Its status as either a secondary modern or a comprehensive is not clearly defined in the film but the implication is that it may be purpose built but that its curriculum is out of kilter with the needs of young people. The school has no sixth form, providing education for ages 11-15 and therefore not strictly a comprehensive, but it should be noted that elsewhere in Staffordshire rural comprehensives were being developed since the late 1950s. The film depicts rural teenagers impatient for school to finish so that they can get on with their lives, which involve farming, nursing and reveling in contemporary pop music. The voices of the children express their intense boredom at learning *The Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner* and other historic poetry. (Figure 78) Their voices are edited into the film footage at a louder volume than the background voices of the teachers. One teacher is given a short monologue reflecting on the local feeling that education contributes nothing to the earning power of young people, as the teacher himself wanders as a lone fisherman seeking a hobby. He wades in boots through a stream surrounded by blossom.

Roger Mayne provided stills for the film which betray a greater interest in peer communication than the relationship between pupil and teacher. (Figure 79) As with Boorman’s ‘Citizen 63: Marion Knight’ the still images interrupt the early sequence of the film like a frozen collage, encouraging the viewer to see these unfamous young people as if they were caught by the paparazzi. Exuberant teenagers laughing and singing pop songs may be rural in background and without high culture but they seem quite content and confident and untroubled by many of the demands of qualifications. They have their own unselfconscious style and education doesn’t seem, on the basis of this film, to be forging any clear relationship with the way these young people are. This documentary got no review in *The Listener* and provoked little other coverage in print media. Even though what could be seen and heard on screen was less direct in its questioning than the lyrics of MacColl’s theme tune: ‘Did you stand there in the traces and let ‘em feed you lies? Did you trail along behind ‘em wearing blinkers on your eyes?’; the lasting impression of the film does imply a glaring disconnect between static classroom traditions and the world beyond school.

Comprehensive Schools

While Scupham's letter of 1960 on the 'collapse' of the 1944 Act paved the way for the BBC to take a greater interest in comprehensive schooling, the camera or sound recording equipment rarely placed the comprehensives centre stage in the half decade running up to Circular 10/65.⁴²⁰ These schools were usually considered as part of an 'either/or' debate about the type of school, which may or may not enable young people to thrive. In the array of programmes that were made in these years comprehensives did not get a particularly detailed scrutiny. Instead something symbolic about them would be selected as a kind of trope – corridors for instance was a familiar example. Such visual tropes would then be juxtaposed with other edited imagery from other types of schools. Pathé News took a far earlier visual interest in the new comprehensive schools such as Kidbrooke (1954) and Holland Park (1959) than the BBC ever did. It seems surprising, given that the headmistress of Kidbrooke, Mary Green, was on the Central Advisory Committee for Education and that she appeared with less regularity than Miles, but some recurrence, on BBC discussion programmes about education, that Kidbrooke itself did not receive more BBC attention. Perhaps Green actively wanted to protect her school from BBC scrutiny. Especially since the school itself had its own CCTV system, the potential for the BBC playfully depicting the environment as some kind of science fiction experience may have been all too apparent to Green. (Figure 80)

The other comprehensive school, which readers might have expected to receive more BBC attention in this period, was Woodberry Down in northeast London. Opened as a co-educational comprehensive in 1956, it was led for eleven years by the headmistress Harriet Chetwynd who courted none of the BBC or ASG contacts with which Miles and to a lesser extent Mary Green were involved. Woodberry Down was part of a post war development estate and health centre and the school itself included architectural features such as a large hexagonal assembly hall, built by Robert Hogg Matthew, chief architect and planning officer to LCC and who had contributed to the design of the Royal Festival Hall, South Bank. Such credentials in the design of a school we might anticipate would have appealed to documentary filmmakers, using such a venue to record moral boosting postwar footage of the development of 'democratic citizens'. Chetwynd described the hall as having 'something of

⁴²⁰ For the background on this letter see page 172.

grandeur.⁴²¹ (Figures 81 & 82) Chetwynd had previously taught in a secondary modern school and a boys' grammar school and wrote of the diversity of the community in which she now found herself head teacher and how watching the community of Woodberry Down and talking to parents confounded her expectations of 'some degree of uniformity':

‘‘Well,’ said one of my wisest Jewish parents, ‘you won’t find it amongst us. Show me five Jews and I’ll show you six points of view. And remember Hitler’s persecution drove many refugees here ...’ [and then] West Africa, children ... from the West Indies and India, children ... from Italy and Cyprus Here met differences of native ability, or home background, of financial position, of religion, race; differences which would give each child the mark of his own individuality and personality, yet which had to be fused at some stage and by some process into a common aim and purpose.’⁴²²

In this instance, archival evidence has survived pointing to a deliberate exclusion of Woodberry Down Comprehensive from BBC coverage, which resulted in the school not appearing in BBC broadcast until Michael Marland was headmaster during the 1970s. The evidence for this exclusion comes from the correspondence of Reggie Donald Smith in 1965. A BBC Radio Producer in Features since the end of World War Two, Smith’s Communist Party links were known by the BBC. Smith had suggested back in 1955 that Woodberry Down merited its own Series:

‘I suggested we should do a feature stretching over four to six years. The programme was to record the hopes of the headmistress, Assistant Headmaster, and of parents and children from different intellectual levels. I wanted to record four or five times a year and see how ideals withered or flourished ... The idea was rejected for the idiot reason that it was too political ... though the climate inside the BBC, I believe, has changed about this subject ...’⁴²³

⁴²¹ H. Chetwynd *Comprehensive School: the story of Woodberry Down* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), 14.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴²³ BBC WAC R51/1.112/1 File 8, Talks Education 1965-1970, Smith to Prog.Ed.A.Sc.& Doc, 11.6.65.

Smith went on to propose that even if they were starting ten years later than they could have done why didn't the BBC now start to make this documentary coverage of this comprehensive school and the neighbouring community of Woodberry Down. No further correspondence is accessible at BBC WAC suggesting why R D Smith was once again not given a green light on this programme suggestion. The closest he seems to have got to persuading Woodberry Down staff to be included in BBC programmes was in his suggestion a couple of years before this 1965 correspondence, that Hackett, the assistant head teacher of Woodberry Down and subsequently the head teacher of a Newcastle Comprehensive, be included in Cawston's BBC documentary 'The Schools'. Headmistress, Chetwynd's own writings show how she chose a motto for the school: 'Fellowship is Life' which was both overtly socialist, borrowed from William Morris's writing, and in its very wording called for an inclusive approach for a community which included many faiths and ethnicities. That Woodberry Down was excluded from BBC coverage for such a long period and, perhaps coincidentally, was only granted coverage once Rée had become a teacher there in the 1970s, is significant. During World War Two there were moves by Armfelt to veto giving airtime to Independent schoolmasters who advocated mixed race and mixed faith schooling.⁴²⁴

One BBC television programme, which did focus on comprehensives in 1960, was 'The New School Tie'. This was filmed at Crown Woods Comprehensive, Eltham, South London, a school which then had 1,700 pupils. The shot list for this programme from the 'Lookout' Series looks as if it did attempt a far wider coverage of different lessons than most television footage from this era, but no moving image footage has survived in an archive accessible to researchers so that one can see whether the intentions of the filmmakers and the final transmitted edit matched up. The shot-lists suggests there were cameras on the roof filming sport below, that Domestic Science, Physics and Latin as well as metal work and sculpture were all to have their learning spaces filmed so the full range of subjects available at a comprehensive was convincingly depicted. Whatever the visual content of this production, some of the verbal briefing that was included in the script was very damning in terms of reiterating what the critics perceived to be the product of a comprehensive: 'a factory produced teenager, a mindless, thoughtless cipher, with

⁴²⁴ BBC WAC RCont: Newsom Talks 1, Armfelt to Assistant Controller Overseas, 1945.

about as much conception of the colour and fascination of life as an empty tin.’ There are echoes here of Margaret Cole writing to promote the London Plan for comprehensives in 1948. While allegedly promoting comprehensives her vocabulary sowed seeds of doubt in the minds of the reader by suggesting that parents worried that their children in a comprehensive would feel ‘forlorn scraps of jetsam in a vast sea. This is a legitimate fear.’⁴²⁵ As Crown Woods was so new at the time of making the programme, the interviewer asked Mary Green for a response to the critics of comprehensives but her responses are not retained in the surviving script notes. The interviewer’s conclusion to the programme however is fairly upbeat. He warns against judging comprehensive schools in a ‘storm’ and instead thinks they should be given a chance to show their merits in a climate free from prejudice. Towards the end of the programme it is also let slip that Malcolm Keir Ross, the headmaster since 1957, has worked in grammar schools and at Gordonstoun, ‘another unusual school.’ His role as Warden of Sawston Village College however is not referenced. As usual the BBC limits discussion of types of schools, which are non fee-paying and regionally specific.⁴²⁶

Cawston’s ‘The Schools’ included little footage from comprehensive classrooms preferring to show staircases, walkways and the movement of crowds in transit between spaces. (Figure 83) The learning of Russian is depicted (Figure 84) but teacher pupil interaction is rarely shown in any settled space despite commentators talking of ‘every possible facility’. The two male advocates for comprehensive school reform in the documentary are both filmed at a distance from school buildings. This gives a further impression that the comprehensive schools may not actually contain conversational analytical staff and may instead involve young people moving all day in large groups through liminal spaces as if they are trapped in a science fiction film where classrooms are never quite reached. One of Cawston’s teacher advocates for comprehensives in Wales is shown on a sports field clutching slightly nervously at a goal post and saying he would like to see comprehensives come to South Wales ‘in bulk.’ (Figure 85) This odd choice of word which implies a mass delivery of uniform school units and his awkward nervous expression would not have been lost on Cawston who had by this stage in the documentary already showed a female

⁴²⁵ M. Cole, *What is a Comprehensive School? The London plan in practice* (London: London Labour Party, 1953), 14.

⁴²⁶ BBC WAC, Television Scripts: Films 5/6 O/B’s. (1958–1960).

comprehensive school teacher from Holland Park speaking scornfully of her male comprehensive school teacher counterparts: ‘the men I find very timid and they seem to lack the assurance of most professional men. I don’t know whether it’s the lack of money or what?’

The Welsh male teacher, in Cawston’s film, sounds dissatisfied with educational provision as it stands and yet also comes across as rather shy and static in contrast to the sporty and active grammar school pupils in shot behind him. He also appears reserved when matched with the unshowy military self-assurance of Frank Holland who, as described earlier in this chapter, spoke to camera to promote the grammar school. Holland is filmed unruffled and with his face close to the camera and reassuringly well lit. The Welsh comprehensive advocate, when he was filmed in the grammar school staff room in another part of Cawston’s documentary, also had his argument hugely outnumbered by his grammar supporting peers.

The other footage Cawston uses is of Hackett, the head of a Newcastle comprehensive and formerly Chetwynd’s deputy head at Woodberry Down. Hackett is filmed in a shady studio in Ealing, which has no associations with educational space and gives the impression that this teacher is a radical hiding in an ill-lit garret. Cawston was fascinated by the power of editing and clearly wanted to set Hackett apart as the voice of uncompromising socialism. Hackett announced from the shadows:

‘I am against all forms of selection at any age except selection made by the child himself ... it’s unjust ... and then it’s all a matter of where you live ... there is one answer to this ... the system must go, just as the feudal system had to go and give way to something else ... in its place we should have a common school.’⁴²⁷

Hackett’s face merges with the footage of faceless children descending staircases, the kind of montage which Cawston loved to play with and was well aware of the subliminal potential. (Figures 86 & 87)

Brian Simon, the campaigner for comprehensive education, who worked in the School of Education at Leicester University from 1950–1980, very rarely appeared on the BBC in the years 1944–1965. He was never considered as a member of the ASG

⁴²⁷ ‘The Schools’, BBC, Producer & Script: Richard Cawston, tx: 18.9.62. BFI identifier: 15006.

and was not a friend of Newsom.⁴²⁸ A member of the Communist party, Simon had made a brief appearance in the Network Three broadcast 'Younger Generation' in 1958 to discuss 'What is Communism?' but his first appearance on radio to discuss education did not come until 1965 when he contributed to the programme 'Secondary School reorganization', in the months before Circular 10/65. In this programme he was placed alongside a number of voices championing comprehensives including headmistresses Miles, Green and their voices were given far more time than his in the final edit. All Simon's comments about the positive contribution that comprehensives in London and Middlesex had made to a good balance between vocational and general education were cut and only his remarks outlining the basic practice of comprehensive education and an acknowledgement that the pattern of provision 'varies in different parts of the country' was broadcast to the audience.⁴²⁹

The Listener does not include many images or articles on comprehensives in the period 1960-1965. One curious cover photograph which is used to feature Raymond King's 'Going Comprehensive' article showed a gowned teacher, reminiscent of a grammar school, focused on marking papers in the company of two young male pupils. (Figure 88) All three males are intent in concentration with their gaze focused in the written word. Behind them is a written wall display featuring 'This weeks quotation' and just in shot a blackboard can be seen with further words in chalk. As with Miles's conciliatory comments about the comprehensive aiming to extend grammar school opportunities for all this is a safe image, not dissimilar to the very dour images of Holland Park comprehensive teaching staff which the Foreign Office were circulating as part of their Overseas promotion of comprehensive education.⁴³⁰ The glaring omission from all the BBC coverage in these years seems to be any mention that it may be more affordable to have large non-selective secondary schools.

Educating Girls at Secondary School

As has already been made apparent, the postwar concern for the secondary education of boys, with boys perceived as the major breadwinners in family life, formed the focus of most BBC broadcast coverage about secondary education. The 1959 Crowther Report had suggested courtship, marriage and motherhood should influence

⁴²⁸ See Page 36, note 85.

⁴²⁹ BBC WAC Microfilm radio scripts reel: T485 Sim-Sin.

⁴³⁰ 'Comprehensive School', Director: Maxwell Munden sponsored by Central Office for Information (COI), 1962 (Release), BFI Identifier: 13767.

the education of the adolescent girl. In the early 1960s journalists such as Caroline Stott and Katherine Whitehorn were beginning to ask questions in the popular media about women's lives, the struggle of being home alone with small children and the frustrations of suburban respectability. Events in the late 1950s and early 1960s brought the topic of the education of girls to the fore, but the BBC coverage, sometimes under the guise of covering a scrutiny of the purpose of the curriculum or the nature of the school environment, actually became rather more captivated in portraying girls as if they were the latest young film star, that the film makers had stumbled upon. Exploring the potential of school to enrich the lives of young women, both personal and in terms of wage earning, was not on the agenda. Boorman's use of imagery to promote his documentary 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight' shows clear appropriation from the imagery used by Truffaut to promote actress Jeanne Moreau in his film 'Jules et Jim' (1962). (Figures 89, 90, 91 & 92)

Taking the radio coverage of girls as the starting point, some programmes in this period turned not to mainstream provision of education for secondary school girls but to the more unusual or elite examples as if the experiences of the upper middle classes might provide the keys to understanding girls' education. In 1960 Dorothy Neville Rolfe was given airtime to discuss the finishing school environment, which she ran for girls as a 'House of Citizenship'.⁴³¹ Kitty Anderson, Headmistress of North London Collegiate School was also on air in 1964 talking about her experience of leading a girls' Independent School established in 1850. Anderson had been on the Robbins Committee most recently, so she is introduced as someone with a vested interest in higher education. The interviewer, asks Anderson if compulsory free education since the 1944 Act had brought the progress, which was assumed would follow. Anderson rather circumvents the question by pointing out that what happens after school is vitally important. She goes on to comment on the wider experiences of travel for young people and the possibilities of girls now receiving qualification in secondary modern schools. She then asks for Handel's 'Where'er You walk' to be played with its lyrics including 'Where – e'er you tread the blushing flow'rs shall rise and all things flourish...' No such equivalent coverage was given to the heads of non-fee paying girls' schools, although such heads as Green and Miles continued to contribute to group discussions as part of a male and female conversation on co-

⁴³¹ This establishment was also based in Herfordshire. See D. N. Rolfe, *Nothing venture: the story of the House of Citizenship*, (Aylesbury: Hazel Watson & Viney, 1961).

educational preoccupations, it was only the leaders of elite establishments that had the spotlight placed directly on their expertise in educating girls as part of a slot which gave them a personal interview.

The only BBC radio programme to give an entire hour's coverage to the topic of educating girls in the years 1960–1965 was 'Greek in the Kitchen' on Third. The wording of the title brings to mind a learned female classicist uncertain as to how to scramble an egg. The timing of this broadcast in 1961, three months after 'Beyond the Fringe' appeared on stage in the West End should not be overlooked because the mixture of parody and seriousness that informs the piecing together of these voices can be seen to make a contemporary echo. 'Greek in the Kitchen', was initiated by ASG member Maclure, and BBC producer, Weltman. In the final years before his departure from the BBC for Granada Independent Television in 1963, it has already been demonstrated that Weltman played a role in unpicking the realities of the 1944 Education Act, wanting the audience to reflect on the gap between educational policy and practice.

'Greek in the Kitchen' used separately recorded interviews juxtaposed by editors to form an artificial conversation between people who were not actually in the same room. This was much the same technique as Cawston was using in filmed documentary and the intended impact was the same – that the audience was left with a collection of discordant ideas and at least believed themselves to be presented with something resembling objective coverage. Maclure's programme did include more women than men and these women represented a wide range of age groups: Dorothy Neville Rolfe again, Bernadine Wall, Lois Mitchison, Kathleen Ollerenshaw, Enid Hutchinson, Mary Green, Miss Lockley, Miss Kindred and Shirley Williams. Women had no say however in the final editing of the programme. As with Boorman's documentary film 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight', men selected the sequencing of ideas, which the audience then witnessed.

Many of the women speaking in 'Greek in the Kitchen' grappled with concerns as to how women combine their educational background and domestic duties and the struggles of depression when at home with small children. More re-training opportunities for women in later life so that they could return to work when their children were older was also a request. Grammar schools and girls boarding schools are reprimanded for not offering young women a lasting set of skills to navigate the realities of their lives post-school. Hemming's contribution was to champion more

emotional education through creative arts to prevent such a divorce between what went on in girls' minds and their experiences in school. Newsom, living up to the BBC in-house description of him as 'stimulating and irritating' suggested that 'only the most fastidious or the most repulsive young women will not be married by the time they're twenty five.'⁴³² As has already been discussed in earlier chapters, from the surviving microfilmed scripts there is a marked tendency for Newsom to pass uncontested when he puts his viewpoint forward. 'Greek in the Kitchen' is a prime example of this type of collaboration. Orchestrated by his friend Maclure, and featuring a number of women giving opinions on the contemporary education of women, Newsom is edited amongst their voices as if he were throwing a cat among the pigeons, offering provocative remarks about his understanding of women's preference for a married life. As the voices were recorded separately the women contributors did not hear this remark until the final sequencing of the programme.

The script suggests an uncomfortable disconnect, perhaps enhanced by the fact the speakers were not actually listening to each other and building on each other's conversation the way most BBC radio programmes in the 1950s had been constructed. The women spoke with some awareness of the vulnerability of their sex and a sense of responsibility as to how they might want things to be adapted to help future generations. Apart from Hemming, who spoke of the emotional needs of men and women, the men in this programme either speak with a predictable misogyny, as in the case of Newsom, or in the case of Maclure with a more balanced and measured sense of what the future might bring and yet a summing up that is tinged with judgements in much the same way as the narrator in 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight' briefs the audience as to what might be 'wrong' with Marion. Maclure introduces Lady Ogilvie, a longstanding ASG member, an irregular broadcaster and Principal of St Ann's College, Oxford, 1953–1966 as representing the 'austere Oxford view'. With the Newsom report already underway in its investigations, the interests of more academic girls were not at the forefront of public debate and could take some parody, but what is curious in retrospect is that the figures who were accustomed to working with less academic girls from a wealthy background were also deemed to have the answer for girls' education for socio-economically under privileged girls. Maclure sums up towards the end of the programme with an understanding that the education

⁴³² BBC WAC Newsom TV Art 1, Postgate to Furness, June 1958.

of intelligent girls and boys has been 'more or less identical' but lower down the intelligence scale more room is being allowed for girls' education to develop in ways which might provide a new point of departure for all levels of intelligence. He gives the last word to Vera Brittain who questions the problem that identity and equality are deemed to be the same thing by schools.

In the same year as 'Greek in the Kitchen', a Series of discussions about 'Equality' broadcast in 1961 on the Third made no admission that the topic of Equality touched on the rights of females at all. In the first episode Isaiah Berlin, Enoch Powell, Raymond Williams and other male contributors discussed the topic of equality with Stuart Hampshire as the chair: 'in the light of aspirations today, controversies that are still alive'. Equality of opportunity, economic equality, equality of social relations, equality before the law are all drawn out in the discussion with a total blindness to gender forming any part of the conversation. Raymond Williams comments 'I think equality is almost a metaphor when it's used about a community: which I think probably fraternity does better express.'⁴³³

As has already been suggested, the BBC representation of the secondary education of girls was often overlooked in this period when so many other issues around selection, access, parental knowledge about education and the recruitment of teachers also dominated the agenda. In Cawston's files on preparing 'The Schools' there is evidence to suggest he originally planned to film more footage in girls' schools. In the event he used Miles and Mother Mary Louisa in juxtaposition, editing the perspectives of a socialist girls' comprehensive school head and a nun leading Cardinal Manning Catholic Girls' Secondary Modern. This gave him as much footage as he felt he needed to represent girls' single sex education. Angus Wilson, reviewing the programme, argued that more should have been included on girls' education and asked viewers to 'take note and protest' on this issue.⁴³⁴

Charles Denton's 'The School' (1964) and Boorman's 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight' (1963) both give significant space to the image, movement and voices of girls in secondary modern schools but both can be argued to be more interested in capturing the beauty and youth of these young women, than in their educational experiences or prospects. It is almost as if both directors are searching for an English star to rival

⁴³³ 'Equality 1: In Search of a Definition' Isaiah Berlin, Herbert Hart, Enoch Powell, Bernard Williams, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hampshire (Chair), tx: 25.1.61, Third.

⁴³⁴ BBC WAC, T32/1832/2 TV Talks, article by Angus Wilson *Queen* magazine, 2.10.62.

young French film stars, as they let the cameras linger on these un-self-conscious young women. In Denton's documentary a number of girls speak straight to camera about the expectation of school and the more lively and enticing interests that they have out of school. A particularly memorable sequence of footage in Denton's film, shows two girls standing together in the river water, their faces framed by the trees, as they discuss collecting small water creatures for a science lesson and explain the words they would use to name these creatures and the words which the teachers would expect them to use when they write up their notes. (Figure 93) The male teacher who is filmed fishing alone in the river, musing on his own doubts about his role and his voice-over providing rather defeatist reflections on what the curriculum can bring to a community that values 'making brass.'⁴³⁵ In contrast, these girls speak up out of doors, facing the camera, together, never coy or uncomfortable about their delivery. This film also shows girls moving between spaces, running for the school bus, climbing over stone walls, entering deserted rural buildings, balancing across bridges. Threshold and journeys through outdoor spaces seem to be the lively part of education. In the classroom we hear the teacher's muffled voice reading 'The Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner' and girls (and boys) reflecting on their boredom.

Boorman's 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight' also gave space to a teenage girl speaking her own mind. In this instance Marion offers informed reflections on her own adoption, on her nursery nurse training which forms part of her secondary education, on the difficulties of children dealing with their own illegitimacy, her doubts about Christian belief and her political commitments to CND and Spies for Peace. Marion's headmistress Mary Bray, a Methodist and member of BBC Religious Education Committee, did not initially recommend Marion to be the subject of Boorman's film, although Marion herself spoke in later life of her respect for Bray as a CND member and advocate of birth control.⁴³⁶ Boorman himself chose her in much the same way that models are selected by talent-spotters. However, Marion's conventional good looks accompanying a forthright political commitment and a compassionate interest in the education of young children caused uproar within her local community when the film was shown. National reviewers also dwelt on Marion as a rebel, just as the BBC narrator that Boorman allowed as voice over, had labelled

⁴³⁵ 'Landmarks: The School', BBC production, Director: Charles Denton, tx: 20.12.64. BBC 2, Identifier: 541832.

⁴³⁶ Discussion between Marion Knight and Lottie Hoare, Loughborough: 23.4.13.

her for the audience. Local newspapers referred to her and her friends as: ‘barely disciplined youths, exposing thoughts and pursuits we deplore.’⁴³⁷

In 2013, then aged in her late 60s, Marion reflected on how she had sold her rights for £50 to the BBC and was trapped on screen as a rebellious creation of Boorman’s editing. She never felt she was given an opportunity to speak back in public and tell her account of the difficulties of being a secondary modern pupil and of having to carry the stigma of failing the eleven-plus.⁴³⁸ When Boorman sent her a ticket to attend his talk at his BFI retrospective in 2013 she did not turn up because there was no direct invitation that she could talk about her memories of what was recorded on film. Boorman was left on stage calling out to the audience and hoping to hear back from a voice from the audience claiming to be Marion. He was met with silence. Instead she bought her own ticket and went to a smaller screening at the BFI to the film to which she lent her name, and where Boorman was not present. In the film she is portrayed as a revolutionary adventurer for whom nothing can stand in her way. She saw this as Boorman’s ‘mere fiction ... a construct ... to show off his talents and celebrate sub-cultures.’⁴³⁹ Most of Marion’s secondary modern education had taken place ages 11-14 in Southsea Modern, which had no BBC connections and no particular interest in Music Education. She had only recently arrived at John Pounds when the film was made:

‘Idealising secondary modern education – what a joke? I wasn’t even allowed to do art! I was made to do domestic science, which wasn’t even cookery but scrubbing wooden tables – training for scullery maids! I was lucky I managed to escape by focussing on PE and swimming for the city and county but even then I was the only secondary modern student in the team! [The documentary was] a sexed-up version of an average young girl whose life was quite mundane but who was transformed into a risqué teenage rebel using the power and artistry of the editing suite where voice-overs and musical scores provide subliminal cultural impregnation of the mind of the viewer.’⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁷ Newspaper cuttings, Private Collection: David Allen, Portsmouth.

⁴³⁸ Email correspondence, Knight to Lottie Hoare, 25.3.13.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.,

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.,

The male narrator of the documentary describes Mary Bray as ‘the one point of contact with adult society’. The film shows us otherwise, whether or not Boorman was trying to undermine his own chosen narrator. For all the condescension and glamourising which Marion identified in Boorman’s editing, one of the most compelling sequences shows Marion’s argumentative skill. While broadcasters on Radio such as David Rubinstein were bemoaning that secondary moderns deprived the young of ‘the company of the ablest of their age group’, Marion had in her informal education, learned to hold her own. Marion discussed with an older Tory lady, Mrs Butler, at the Methodist Youth Club, how Spies for Peace broke into secret VIP shelters (Figure 94). While the provocative nature of a secondary modern female pupil justifying individuals breaking the official secrets act can be seen to have been difficult for many to condone at this point in history, Marion puts forward her side of the argument, capable and swift in her careful responses, far removed from Krish’s portrayal of secondary modern pupils easily challenged by a better informed teacher. Here Marion disputes with Mrs Butler:

‘Mrs Butler: Well I mean ... what right have a few of you. A vocal minority ... to imperil the safety of the rest of us.

Marion: How do you mean imperil the safety of the rest of you?

Mrs Butler: Well this is the seat of government in the time of a crisis and you jokers have gone round spreading it all around. you know big deal .. and it means that if there is an enemy ... they will know exactly where ...

Marion: Oh no but come off it don’t you think the Russians probably knew about this years ago ... I mean if Spies for Peace can find it out ... then you must agree that the Russians...

Mrs Butler: Yes but it’s the principle of the thing Marion ... do you betray our country?

Marion: But we don’t feel it is betraying our country ... betraying our government yes but not the people of the country.

Mrs Butler: Yes ... but its really betraying the people here ...

Marion: Why?

Mrs Butler: Well I think it is. I can’t answer that one. Something inside me says it’s wrong.

Marion: Well...

Mrs Butler: I think it is a cheap publicity stunt and I think you have done immeasurable harm.

Marion: No ... but the reason they were exposed was because it proves the British government does not have faith in its deterrent. If it had faith in its deterrent ... everyone's always saying it will never be used anyway ... Then why do they need these fall out shelters for VIPs?' ⁴⁴¹

Perhaps unsurprisingly such examples of the political, analytical young woman from the secondary modern school, or indeed any contemporary school, were few and far between in BBC coverage in the years 1960–1965. Anthony Burgess in *The Listener* shot down Marion as essentially immature and uninformed.⁴⁴² The BBC could keep check on its own more radical moments by using *The Listener* as a voice of conservative concern, thereby creating a myth of neutrality in the way in which it covered contemporary events. Burgess's review was illustrated by a still of Marion working in a nursery school, not challenging adult authority (Figure 95). The only scene featured in *The Listener* in 1963 which showed a young woman in a classroom challenging authority, came with an illustration of a televised episode of the young Jane Eyre (Figure 96). Here was a text that was sufficiently established for the BBC to offer a paused frame from its audiovisual record of actors and actresses depicting a female pupil challenging an adult.

Resisting Change and the Newsom Report 1963

When Newsom joined the Central Advisory Council for Education in 1961 his official correspondence with BBC radio programme makers paused, at least in terms of what has been archived and there are no surviving papers for the next 26 months. This goes some way to explain why his presence is not dominant in the current chapter even though ASG connections rumble on in the background, continuing to have some impact on BBC programme making in regard to the coverage of secondary education. The Newsom Report "Half our Future" published in 1963 resulted from research into the state of secondary education, focusing on pupils aged 13 to 16 who were of average or below-average ability. It argued for a greater expenditure of educational

⁴⁴¹ 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight', BBC West, Director: John Boorman, tx:11.9.63. BFI identifier: 356250.

⁴⁴² See pages 190–191 for details of Burgess's remarks about Marion.

resources on these citizens of the future. Documentary films on secondary education were made for BBC television in 1962 in the run up to the 1963 publication of the Newsom Report and these films examined current tensions around school provision: 'The Schools' and 'Citizen 63: Marion Knight', for instance, both preempt many of the published findings and recommendations of The Newsom Report although neither make it the focus of their films. The educational environments are not spoken about in detail but visual imagery is used in a suggestive way.

In Cawston's film, which is entirely voiced by teachers, not pupils, the inequalities of lifestyle and environment for pupils are made very apparent from the footage of classrooms and outside space, but more footage of urban primary schools is used than that of secondary moderns. In Boorman's film, which focuses on one particular pupil in a secondary modern school, again the footage of her home and school environment shows dedicated teachers doing their best to inspire young people who walk to a functional but worn out and un-modernised school building through the debris of undeveloped bombsites. Marion is also shown listening to records in her bedroom with quite a romantic but ramshackle view of terraced housing visible, beyond her profile, which fills half the frame. (Figure 97) Newsom does not appear to have had any direct involvement in the making of these films but within broadcasting circles, conversations between the Central Advisory Council for Education and programme makers must have taken place, given that Scupham, then head of educational broadcasting at the BBC, was a member of this same council that formed the report under Newsom's leadership. Newsom was also a governor of the British Film Institute.

These films would arguably have had a wider and more attentive audience than the lengthy official written reports. The overall message of the films was that secondary education stood on the brink of potential change. For filmmakers such as Boorman and Cawston these were the first years when technological developments made hand-held cameras easier to use in classroom, playground, and street environments so this enhanced their fascination with showing an ever-growing television audience what life was like for "Half our Future". In 1963, after the publication of the Newsom Report, Newsom was briefly back in front of the cameras for occasional BBC television broadcasts usually with a pre-recorded commentary on education. His position as a chair of an education report may have changed his role in BBC programmes but also his involvement with ITV, becoming in 1964 chairman of

their education advisory council, pushed him by association into the realm of the competitors. Newsom's efforts to bring the voices of ordinary people to the BBC airwaves had a long history, even if the commitment of Newsom to allowing those voices to be heard, rather than allowing others to speak on their behalf may in itself be a topic of debate. Back in the 1930s he had not achieved all that he and others at the BBC had hoped, when it came to making radio broadcasts based on the recordings of unemployed men.⁴⁴³

'The Remarkable Incident at Carson Corners' was a fictional example, made for BBC television that explored issues around the provision of suitable school buildings for young people in England and Wales. This was broadcast on BBC television in the same month as the Newsom Report was published. Scripted by Reginald Rose (1920–2002) an American pioneer of television drama with an interest in social and political issues, 'The Remarkable Incident at Carson Corners' explored issues of responsibility around the loss of a young boy's life because of a badly assembled school fire escape. The local Chamber of Commerce would not support the idea of a new school to replace the dangerous old building but the twist to the tale emerged when it was proven that it was the father of the boy killed who had not bothered with correct assembly of the fire escape eight years earlier. The reviewer in *The Listener* was fairly harsh in the response to this 'parable'. Not acknowledging the underlying commentary on inadequate school building provision the reviewer complained that the script was too full of 'wild coincidences.'⁴⁴⁴

The economist and founding Vice Chancellor of the University of Lancaster, Charles Carter, wrote the preface to Scupham's publication on schools broadcasting in 1965. He expressed his disappointment that the Newsom Report did not receive more media coverage.⁴⁴⁵ Scupham had written letters to BBC staff specifically trying to alert them to the need for coverage of the report and the perceived need to alert radio listeners to the fact that this report was flagging up the inadequate provision for many young people.⁴⁴⁶ This could in turn generate further dialogue with concerned parents. 'Panorama' did cover the report on BBC television but Scupham was not a

⁴⁴³ See L. Hoare "'The school career of the child as a unity': John Newsom's involvement with the BBC, 1934–1971", *Paedagogica Historica*, 2017, Vol. 53:4 for further discussion of Newsom's involvement with the BBC during the 1930s–1970s.

⁴⁴⁴ *The Listener* 10 January 1963.

⁴⁴⁵ Charles Carter (1919–2002) author of preface to J. Scupham, *School Broadcasting and the Newsom report: School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom* (London: BBC, 1965)

⁴⁴⁶ BBC WAC R51/1.112/1 File 8, Talks Education, Scupham to H.T.C.A. (S.) 2.10.63.

fan of television and he had more faith in the educational concerns of the BBC radio audience.⁴⁴⁷ Carter hoped for more active discussion of the report on radio so that listeners might come across the news in an incidental way whether or not they planned to watch 'Panorama'. Carter complained that the Robbins Report had overshadowed the Newsom Report and the educational needs of the proportion of the population who would not head to university were not being given a high enough profile. In Carter's views Comprehensives had dominated the debate on secondary schooling instead of talking about the needs of young people whatever the type of school. The Newsom report, he suggests, seemed to have 'received somewhat less than half our attention.'

Bantock's coverage of secondary education was limited at the BBC in the years 1960–1965, not necessarily because of his ideological message but because of a concern on the part of various members of the staff that Bantock's broadcasting skills left something to be desired. That Bantock's coverage of education on air continued at all was largely due to Weltman championing Bantock. He had been pleased with the 1957 broadcast, which had also made it into *The Listener* and encouraged Bantock to contribute more. Howard did not share this enthusiasm. When Bantock attempted a script on the problems of secondary education, Howard referred to Bantock's views on education as 'contemporary cant.' Weltman defended Bantock and suggested instead:

'Certainly I should say the official pronouncements on educational policy since Hadow that I have seen qualify as 'cant' ... Here we have a man who knows from personal experience in the service of the Ministry how big is the difference between official bromides and what actually happens in these schools. It is the difference that is important, the 'common currency' of practice.'⁴⁴⁸

Weltman's defence of Bantock kept Bantock within the fold, albeit the fringes, of BBC broadcasting even when Weltman himself left the BBC in 1963. Bantock, never moved outside the realms of Third, but those staff that were left to deal with him did

⁴⁴⁷ Peter Scupham, Oral history interview conducted by Lottie Hoare, October 2015, Old Hall, South Burlingham, Norfolk. 1 hour 23 minutes.

⁴⁴⁸ BBC WAC RCont1 Bantock G H File 1 1946–1962 for various correspondence from Howard and Weltman discussing 'cant' amongst educationalists and the need for broadcast that reach beyond 'cant'.

not take him entirely seriously. Neil Crichton Miller read back over his file since the 1950s and pronounced: this ‘adds up to the warning that he is a pretty heavy broadcaster.’ Miller also came to the conclusion that Weltman had had ‘to battle hard to make him human’ and that Bantock himself believed that our culture was being corrupted in the process of it being passed on to a wider section of the population – which could in itself be understood to be an attack on radio. With backing from physicist David Edge and theatre director Norman Marshall, Miller kept open the door for Bantock and choreographed his 1964 broadcast on the Third, ‘Educating Half Ourselves.’⁴⁴⁹ The title was in itself deceptive. Instead of the social concerns of ‘half our future’, Bantock was concerned with the consciousness of the intelligentsia and that this consciousness was not disrupted by popular culture being taken seriously. This programme made no reference whatsoever to the Newsom report and indeed the content of the programme implied that the education of most of the population was of no immediate interest to the speaker. Bantock’s concern was the dangers of new universities such as Essex taking an interest in popular culture, and the shortcomings of the Robbins Report. He berated the Robbins Report for having been entirely preoccupied by cognitive education. He saw this as subservient to business interests and professional requirements at the expense of Arts education. His definition of Arts education is however closely tied to Plato and he berated implicit pragmatism for standing in the way of the ‘nation’s needs.’⁴⁵⁰

Archie Gordon writing in 1965 wondered if there was any need to ‘maintain personal contact’ given that he understood Bantock to be so against radio and television as ‘electric’ media, which were leading to a post-literate commercial culture.⁴⁵¹ Bantock remained at a distance from broadcasting for the next four years, until the publication of the *Black Papers* resuscitated an interest in his perspective. Those considerations fall outside the time period of this study but are worth mentioning in order to give a convincing contrast between the concerns of the mid 1960s, when television and radio hoped to be taken seriously as part of the educational culture, and what that optimism was later to give way to.

⁴⁴⁹ BBC WAC RCont: G H Bantock Talks 2: 1963–1967.

⁴⁵⁰ BBC WAC *The Listener* 27 February 1964.

⁴⁵¹ BBC WAC RCont: G H Bantock Talks 2: 1963–1967.

Reflections

This chapter is distinct in that pressure groups and sociological research were beginning to receive more attention from the BBC programme makers with an interest in secondary education. Yet despite this variation from the earlier chapters, coverage of Independent schools still took up regular broadcast time. The ASG appears to be slightly less dominant in this chapter, but glancing over the accompanying Appendix 3 reveals that members were still regularly involved with the coverage of secondary education. Members such as Catherine Avent, who had not contributed significantly to the BBC in before, now offered guidance, as well as ongoing contributions from Stuart Maclure. Rowntree, as a BBC staff member, also continued to act as a guiding force over which voices were heard on air. When programme makers, both the BBC staff and the freelance contributors, pursued the voice of the pupil or parent to include in BBC representation of secondary education, *The Listener* could be relied upon to take them to task or to ignore the programmes completely, implying that their lasting legacy in a review was not necessary. Even without this written record by contemporary critics, the evidence of the programmes that survive today, both as script, photograph and audio visual material, suggests that BBC presented the progressive potential of secondary education in these years as something that invited curiosity, but was ultimately deemed naïve and in danger of disregarding some of the structures and divisions on which society had been built. The success of Ewan McColl and Charles Parker's 'Radio Ballads' may have paved the way for more programmes that retrieved the voices of the working classes or minority groups but on the subject of secondary education, the authority of the school might be toyed with by the BBC, but that authority was never really called into question.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵² BBC Producer Charles Parker created documentary radio programmes from 1956–1966 on the Home Service where the voice of the subject in spoken word and song was edited but not interrupted by a narrator. Musicians Ewan McColl contributed to several of these including 'On the Edge' (tx: 13.2.63) which featured the voices of the young in Glasgow discussing adolescence.

Conclusion

As system of spirit creation – This is effected by three grand materials ... the intelligence – the human heart ... and the world or elemental space ... I will call the world a school ... Do you not see how necessary a World of Pains and troubles is to school an intelligence and make it a Soul?

John Keats to George and Georgiana Keats, 21 April 1819, H E Rollins (ed.) *Letters of John Keats 1814–1821* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard, 1958) 102,

For the ASG members, and indeed most individuals involved in BBC broadcasting in the years 1944–1965, World War Two had provided a ‘World of Pains’ that was destined to shape the education of the next generation. This study opened with Newsom’s borrowing of Keats’s quote concerning ‘soul-making’. The BBC representation of secondary education 1944–1965 did not explicitly promote Keats’s concerns for intelligence, the human heart and elemental space and indeed for most of the period under consideration it did not engage compassionately or constructively with the experiences of young people. Young people in education were occasionally ‘specimens to net’ while arguments about matters of principle and the best way of the 1944 Act unfolding in a stable manner dominated the debate.⁴⁵³ Preoccupations about ‘soul-making’ flickered in the background when secondary education was represented but they were never the main agenda. Newsom and his friends kept intelligence, the human heart, and elemental space on the fringes of public debate in the hope that a ‘revolution in ideas’ about education might lead the audience to greet with a sense of pride and satisfaction in the secondary schooling provided for young people. Most BBC staff meanwhile, were more interested in protecting the grammar school as their winning card. The prized neutrality of the BBC appears particularly artificial when the coverage of grammar schools in this period is prized apart.

The BBC appears to have tried to use a mixture of parable, forceful Chairs, monologues and discussion programmes which were most often constructed amongst a safe group of friends, in the hope the audience might see the silver lining to the Tripartite system. Parity of esteem was rarely explicitly mentioned. Until the development of *cinéma vérité* young people were not asked what they thought of education and when they were asked by researchers, who held a genuine interest,

⁴⁵³ See page 161 for Gibson’s use of the wording ‘specimens to net.’

editors could distort their impressions. When considering the wider context of documentary and features film from the late 1950s through to 1965 beyond the BBC, it can be noted that films did not yet focus on the LEA secondary classroom. Instead, in the case for example of *Free Cinema*, the subjects included the environment of Borstals or the young person who had left school and was grappling with factory jobs, personal anguish and the responsibilities of relationships.⁴⁵⁴

It was not until policies shifted in favour of comprehensive schooling as an economically advantageous policy, irrespective of ideology, that the BBC began to give the comprehensive school a little more space, but even when it did it is possible to interpret much of the coverage as hankering after more traditional tried and tested methods. Some comprehensive school coverage in the 1960s projected an image of schooling which was very much borrowing from grammar schools traditions, as can be seen in Figure 88. If comprehensives had to be endured it could be hoped that they didn't look too innovative.

Intelligence testing shimmied in and out of discussion programmes about secondary education but those who ardently opposed intelligence tests were rarely invited onto the BBC at all so the conversations did not include vigorous debate in the years 1944–1965. Other psychological and sociological theories about learning also peppered BBC coverage of secondary education, but overall there was a spirit of appeasement in much of the discussion, a sense that perhaps that education was not a safe space for urgent voices. The theme that consistently rumbled across the given period can be summarised as a triangular contest between the traditionalists revering classical education, those who regretted the absence of a more scientific and vocational education and those who sought a more progressive, child centred and experimental approach to education for all age-groups. The latter were the most consistently kicked by the BBC and their interests whenever granted broadcast, were almost always derided in the pages of *The Listener*. 'Practical' and 'activity' were often dirty words. It was as if these elements of education were presented to the audience as an Aunt Sally to knock down.⁴⁵⁵ Generating righteous indignation amongst the audience was also always part of the BBC's game as long as it was not a righteous indignation that demanded expensive educational developments. Overseas

⁴⁵⁴ Examples include 'Saturday Night and Sunday Morning' (1960) and 'The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner' (1962). Sustained feature film footage of young people in English LEA schools interacting with their teacher did not appear until 'To Sir With Love' (1967)

⁴⁵⁵ See page 74, note 165.

broadcast, which for the first twelve years of this study provided a space for relatively outspoken discussion of secondary education no longer had foreign office investment after Suez, so this space for democratic propaganda evaporated and the foreign office invested instead in projects such as the rather dour and formal COI film of Holland Park ‘Comprehensive School’ (1962).

Another silence apparent in this study has been the voices and recalled experience of immigrant communities attending secondary school in England and Wales. Until Gordon Bowker’s 1965 publication and related radio programme the BBC presented issues of race and education as an American issue exclusively, and did not dedicate whole programmes or even extensive sections of longer programmes to this topic. During the 1950s *The Listener* would on occasions print photographs from the United States showing for example teachers discussing desegregation in schools and the effect on textbook provision. Incidental references to mixed-race schooling in *The Listener* can shock when read decades later. On one BBC discussion programme on ‘Family Affairs’, rather than schooling specifically, it was noted that introducing ‘coloured children’ to schools could risk their being ‘petted’ by other children, which it was argued would lead to a demoralised atmosphere in the school.⁴⁵⁶ Bourne noted the absence of television drama about the lives of Caribbean settlers in postwar Britain, acknowledging programmes such as Bridson’s ‘My People & Your People’ on Home in July 1959 as one of the few exceptions. Even this did not touch on experiences of schooling.⁴⁵⁷

The ‘networks of conversation’ that inform this study show that it was a relatively small social group who collaborated on programme making for much of the period under consideration. The group grew wider in the final years considered, but familiar figures crop up even in the final year from which evidence is drawn. ASG members ‘jack-in-a-box’ into programmes, in a sporadic but consistent way, in order to represent secondary education. The individuals involved in making these BBC programmes from 1944–1965 developed from established networks of friends, shared wartime responsibilities, overlapping school and university experiences and professional familiarity. They were not individuals who would fit the definition of

⁴⁵⁶ *The Listener*, 6 June 1957, page 932 & 31 January 1957, page 202.

⁴⁵⁷ S. Bourne *Black in the British Frame* (London: Cassell, 1998) 201–213.

Noel Annan's 'intellectual aristocracy'.⁴⁵⁸ They were not, for the most part, the academic public figures who entertained the audience with a mixture of comedy and abstract ideas on other BBC programmes during this same period. The ASG contributors to programmes did not agree with each other on all sorts of educational matters but they lobbied to keep education as a topic of public interest. In the later years of the study individuals such as Young also encouraged local groups to spur on their interest in education in the form of local organizations, which in turn kept talking about educational provision and pushing the model of good democratic citizenship.

There was a shifting realization across time, on the part of the BBC and the ASG, that people could not be told what to think. However there was still a determined effort that stage-managing how people might think was a crucial preoccupation in a democratic society. While the BBC was rallying support for the grammar school in broadcasts between 1953–1958, other attacks on progressive education simmered on a back burner in broadcasting circles before developing a different profile in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the grammar school's legacy was less vehemently protected. This account does not suggest a straightforward tale of educationalists having ideas for programmes and always getting their own way. Instead it shows how educationalists kept lobbying and their contributions were sustained across the decades. At times their interests were overshadowed by those of contributors, when BBC staff wanted to bring in new voices. These voices usually had conservative leanings in their approach to educational provision. At times the ASG was one step of the BBC. Armfelt might have been phased out but as his impact declined, Fisher's was in the ascendant. Figures like James and Fisher from Manchester called the shots on the representation of secondary education for much of the 1950s. While researching this study, I was once asked whether I considered the ASG to be 'disrupters' to the BBC's broadcast coverage of secondary education. On completing the study I realize that the ASG members who broadcast on the BBC can be better understood as 'stabilisers'.⁴⁵⁹ In educating the audience about the 1944 Act they wanted to encourage a stable society that questioned what was provided but ultimately viewed provision with optimism and appreciation.

⁴⁵⁸ Further to his original essay 'Intellectual Aristocracy' in the Festschrift for G M Trevelyan (1955), see N. Annan, *The dons: mentors, eccentrics and geniuses* (London: Harper Collins, 1999).

⁴⁵⁹ Question from Ian Grosvenor at the 5th European Educational Research Association Summer School, Umeå University, Sweden, 12–15 June 2014.

The reasons why the secondary schools were rarely shown on BBC television or described on BBC radio in this period relates partly to perceived lag between what was promised in the 1944 Act and the reality of the time taken to build schools and the cost of building schools. Tensions around the possible loss of tradition and contested abstract ideas about how equality was understood recur in the coverage of secondary education in these years but there appears to have been uneasiness around depicting the classroom. A stable environment where routine communication takes place between pupils and teachers was not often presented until the 1960s and even then exposure was not prolonged.⁴⁶⁰ The secondary schools to which these pupils might move on are not pictured at all in much of the programme coverage from 1944–1952 and if they do appear it tends to be as architectural symbols of democratic renewal, what art historian Saumarez Smith calls a modernist illumination of the postwar idea of rehabilitation, rather than as spaces where active learning is shown.⁴⁶¹ From 1953–1965, images of classrooms appear erratically but also provide a source of tension for the viewer. In the promotion of democratic society the students should not obey a teacher unquestioningly and yet students shown challenging a teacher did not sit comfortably with the BBC’s affection for tradition. Some head teachers such as Holland, at Leeds grammar school, an old colleague of Fisher himself, did not think the camera should be brought in to capture learning in a classroom because it created an intrusion into the real experience of schooling and could only show some artificial version.⁴⁶²

The material markers that set the middle-class child apart from most in a Welsh primary school community for instance feature in Morgan’s television script in terms and represent a set of codes that are not spoken of directly in the script. Audiovisual representation was initially interested in the material but over time increasingly covered the stories of humans with close up images of their reactions, doubts and outspokenness about what school might be for. Editors became increasingly interested in the comic and in the exposing of personal stories. Although the years 1960–1965 suggest there was increasing space for laughter, ridicule and parody in broadcasting,

⁴⁶⁰ This absence is mirrored in fictional representations of the period. S. Spencer and N. Rosoff’s work on school stories for the same period shows a parallel absence of classroom scenes, with authors preferring to show the subjects of a narrative exploring spaces beyond school. *Fiction, Femininity, and Friendship: British and American School Stories, 1910–1960* (Forthcoming, Palgrave).

⁴⁶¹ For further discussion see O. Saumarez Smith ‘Central government and town-centre development in Britain, 1959–1966’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 58: 1, 2015.

⁴⁶²⁴⁶² BBC WAC, T32/1832/2 TV Talks, Holland to Cawston, Undated (Circa 1962).

there is also a perceived tendency to allow the voice of tradition to frame much of the more challenging accounts or revolutionary tendencies of spokespeople in programmes about secondary education. This happens not only through editing but also through post-broadcast reflections published in *The Listener*. *The Listener* letter pages betray a pattern from the 1950s onwards such that when broadcasters tried to explore progressive or innovative experience in secondary education on air the subsequent correspondence generated and published would usually see the debate drawn to a close with a final publication of a letter from an authority from Oxford University or another established older author, giving the last word on the preeminence of tradition.

I have attempted to explore a Venn-diagram of spaces and uncover how broadcasting and an educational lobby were meshed together in a significant but elusive way. No direct claim is made that broadcasting affected policy as policymaking is outside the remit of this study. However, lobbying definitely affected broadcasting. Language was often used to conjure fear about the visions of reform. Audiovisual records were sometimes used to present educational reform as a dignified investment to enhance democracy and at other times the audiovisual was used to suggest that reform could be unhelpful and threatening and disconnected from genuine local needs. Voices broadcast on the BBC were consistently checked, interrupted or contrasted with mistrust for anything which might undermine the strength of tradition. Certain ASG members stepped in to check anything that might be considered too radical. The members had a common interest in the public being as confident as it could be in educational provision available. The revolution of ideas in the outlook of the public was of greater interest to the ASG than any revolution in the practice of teachers. Teachers were to be trusted to carry out their tasks without undue interference. The public was more of a worry because they were not perceived to care enough or be informed enough. Contact between the ASG or BBC staff and the public was limited but increasingly in the 1950s and 1960s that engagement became a social responsibility. Enhanced technology brought a greater variety of voices to the airwaves but in other ways the power dynamic worked against the public because the editorial control rested with the BBC.

The analysis points to a subtle and complex interaction between ASG members and other figures involved with the production of BBC programmes. It is not that ASG members had the power to dictate the scheduling. ASG members were mostly

wary of the corrupting influence of broadcasting and popular culture but probably understood themselves as responsible gate keepers making sure that much of what might be seen and heard was uplifting. Some BBC staff evidently exercised a rueful suspicion of ASG members who wanted to draw the public into a more detailed scrutiny of twentieth century mainstream provision, such as Maclure did in the 1950s. By the 1960s his ideas were more readily listened to. Simultaneously the presence of other ASG members such as James or Fisher, who resonated doubt about anything which did not interact clearly with opportunities to achieve on the basis of competitive performance, were staples of BBC provision even when the audience complained about them. Figures like Weltman grimaced at educationalist's 'cant' but still enjoyed the challenge of piecing together programmes with ASG friends who he already knew from other social circles. When a voice from outside the fold of those who wanted to protect the 1944 Act was commissioned to participate in a broadcast programme, it was not unusual for a subsequent programme to be scheduled soon after which brought in the more stabilising stance of certain ASG members. Attempts to make programmes that offered the audience a new window or a new insight on contemporary practice were often relegated to August transmission or in other ways erratically scheduled.

The other consistent theme across the years 1944–1959 was that the imagined audience was expected to be concerned most often with the education of the male child as the future wage earner of a future household. In 1960–1965 this assumption begins to be challenged but not because the BBC itself began to reflect a distinctly different view of gender and education. This change comes about partly through a more self-conscious focus by the BBC on secondary education as a process that might be worth capturing in sound and moving image because technological change could bring us the expressions of pupils' and parents' dissatisfaction with greater ease. Once the pupils and teachers and parents became more audible and visible they could simultaneously become greater targets for dismissive remarks from the established voices of authority. A glance at the last page of Appendix 3, just as a glance at the first page of Appendix 1, shows that this identifiable ASG group were not shifted out of BBC broadcast. Very often the individuals who the BBC staff sought to exclude from having their voices transmitted on air are also the same individuals that the ASG sought to exclude from their membership and their guest list. Chronological examination of the evidence across the 21-year period suggests that the power of

certain influential figures repeatedly informed who found their way either to the microphone or to be the subject of scrutiny in front of the camera lens. The networks shape-shifted but the same individuals hovered and their voices were heard.

Having created the Appendices for the Reference Section of this study, they can be used and amended by future researchers to generate various interpretations. This study offers an invitation to further prosopographical inquiry focused on contributors to BBC programmes and their motives. Further work can be done exploring the avenues I have opened, including looking at BBC Schools Broadcasting and the Schools Broadcasting Council and examining the power of many of the same individuals introduced in this study in those aforementioned circles. As a contribution to the field of visual history it is hoped that this study, while deliberately shying away from promoting drawing as a one-size-fits-all research methodology, does instead draw attention to the ways in which looking at and making pictures can engage the historical imagination with the intentions of programme makers. I also hoped to highlight that an academic researcher can make useful drawings in the search for interpretations of evidence, rather than depending on the cliché of the analytical academic who is presented as detached and ‘other’ from the maker of a cultural product. They can be one and the same person, rather than siding with an intellectual authority that believes it sees beyond the perspective of the maker. As an offering to broadcasting history, this study brings to the fore characters who were not high-profile names and who worked mainly with non-fiction broadcast but who were having a significant and long-term impact on BBC coverage. As the BBC develops its own digital archive and the digital humanities trawl with increasing attention to detail through the different contributors to the production of programmes, it is hoped that a wider range of individuals are acknowledged in broadcasting history. The way in which those individuals worked collaboratively at times, and with exasperation and dispute at other times, helps us to understand the contested way in which a topic such as secondary education was represented by the BBC. As a contribution to the history of education this study marks a new approach in terms of using a selection of hundreds of programmes and drawing evidence from them, rather than zooming in on certain programmes as emblematic case studies. Now that the ASG is acknowledged in print as something more than a dining club of modest impact, more work can also be done which confronts the complex negotiations, suspicions and enthusiasms that fed into the BBC representation of education. The reinforcing of loyalties between

overlapping networks such as the BBC and the ASG should no longer be approached with reticence.

Key for Appendices

The three Appendices that follow give transmission dates of BBC broadcasts, Series names in capitals and programme names in plain type. The programmes listed in these Appendices all in some way represent secondary education. Details of other BBC broadcasts that do not directly concern the representation of secondary education appear in the footnotes on the relevant pages of the main text instead.

The names listed for each programme in these Appendices show the names as they appear either on the scripts or index cards at BBC WAC. Published listings, for example in *Radio Times*, may list fewer or more contributors to a programme.

The contributors with an association with the All Souls Group (ASG) are marked with three possible symbols after their names in the Appendices. Membership lists of the ASG were not regularly published or circulated so it is not possible to list membership precisely for all the years under consideration. Some members joined for short periods, others remained members for all the years considered in this study.

* Denotes membership of the ASG at some point between 1941 and 1965 but not necessarily a member at the time of making a particular programme.

■ Denotes that the individual concerned was a guest at certain ASG meetings but did not become a full member of the ASG.

■ * Denotes that certain individuals were regular guests and invited to all meetings but did not become full members until after 1965 (the last year considered in this study).

In the 'Notes' section for each entry in the Appendices various extra information is provided that may interest the reader. This includes a summary of the purpose of ASG meetings presented in parallel with the chronology of BBC broadcasts. Given the time lag between ASG meetings and the making of programmes these listings do not necessarily immediately resonate with the programmes with which they are listed in parallel. This information is also provided to give a sense of when the ASG meetings were focused particularly on secondary education in England and Wales and when they were more preoccupied with wider educational concerns that sometimes impinged on the representation of secondary education. All the ASG meetings summarized in the 'Notes' sections took place at Oxford Colleges but further details of locations are not listed.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
12/13.1.44 (b/c) Overseas	Freedom Forum: Should British Education be less literary and academic?	Geoffrey Crowther	ASG meet January 1944 to discuss The New Education Bill
20.1.44 (b/c) Overseas	The Education Bill	R A Butler	
28.2.44, Overseas	QUESTIONS FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW: What shall we teach 12-15 year olds?	Alan Bonse	
6.3.44, Home	QUESTIONS FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW: How are we to find 70,000 new teachers?		
29.3.44, Home	For the Schools:	Cyril Ray	
1.4.44, European	New Education Bill		In French ASG meet April 1944 to discuss The Problem Presented by Secondary Education for All
2/3/4/44, Overseas	EDUCATION IN BRITAIN (10): Reforms in Education	Ernest Woodhead *	In Arabic and Spanish. Woodhead broadcast rarely on the BBC but was an early ASG member and CEO for Kent.
12.4.44, Overseas	The Allies and Education	Kenneth Lindsay *	In Spanish.
17.4.44 Home	WEST OF THE DYKE: The war effort of a Welsh Secondary School	Trevor Lovett	
4.5.44, General Forces Broadcast	Your Questions Answered	Introducing experts answering questions sent in by Forces overseas. Contributors include H. Levey, John Newsom,*, James Agate, Alec Robertson, F. A. Barnett	Repeated 6.5.44
16.10.44, Overseas	GETTING THINGS DONE: After the Education Bill – What Next?	A K C Ottaway	He wrote <i>Education and Society</i> with W O Lester Smith writing intro. 1953. In 1944 he was looking at cost of Social Security.
11/12.6.44, Overseas	EDUCATION IN BRITAIN: Village Colleges	Henry Morris *	In Spanish

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
7.11.44 Overseas	Revolution in English Education	John Newsom *	In Arabic
21.12.44, Home	GETTING THINGS DONE	Maurice Webb	
9.2.45, Overseas	Novel and Experimental forms of state education	H C Dent *	Translated into Hindustani. Mr Afzal produces and John Newsom * is editor. ASG meet February 1945 to discuss School Buildings.
9.3.45, Overseas Hindustani Service	Child Education in Britain	H C Dent *	Translated into Hindustani
25.4.45 Home	CAN I HELP YOU: How the new education act affects you	Douglas Houghton	Labour MP and ‘Can I Help You’ panel member on this BBC programme. This series dealt with all sorts of issues, occasionally education.
7.5.45, Calling The West Indies	New Education Act	Stewart Campbell	
9.5.45, Home	CAN I HELP YOU: questions parents may ask about the act	Douglas Houghton	
26.7.45, Overseas	Equality of Opportunity for All	Arthur Salter	Broadcast in Persian British Civil Servant and University Professor.
14.8.45, Calling Australia	Modern Developments in Education	George Ivan Smith	
19.10.45, Home	The Friday Discussion: Equal Opportunity in Education	S R Gibson E W Lockwood Shena Simon J T Allerdice	
30.11.45, Home	Our Way of Government” The Story of Secondary School Education	Talks for sixth forms	ASG meet November 1945 to discuss The Government of Schools
16/17.2.46 North American Service	The Beginning of a New Era: British Education	Frank Dash	ASG meet January 1946 to discuss Relationship between Central and Local Government in Education
14.4.46 Home	In Europe Today	Harry Rée *	Discussing USSR
6.9.46, Pacific Service Broadcast	Where we are at	Kenneth N Bell *	K N Bell was a member of the Milner Group
4.10.46, Pacific Service Broadcast	Impington Village College	Kenneth N Bell *	

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
29.10.46, North of England Home Service	The New Learning	Ellen Wilkinson	Minister for Education, Labour.
4.11.46, Home	TEACHERS IN THE WITNESS BOX Is Education Too Bookish?		Asks what is behind the grammar school tradition – does it make too much of book learning ?
11.11.46, Home	TEACHERS IN THE WITNESS BOX Secondary Education for All	Jack Longland *	
18.11.46, Home	TEACHERS IN THE WITNESS BOX Is the Grammar School Enough?	Jack Longland *	
25.11.46, Home	TEACHERS IN THE WITNESS BOX Must Education Divide Us ?	C G T Giles A parent interviews Giles	ASG meet November 1946 to discuss The Press, the Radio and Films
13.12.46, Pacific Service	The New Learning	Ellen Wilkinson Minister for Education	A version of the earlier North of England Home Service Talk.
31.3.47, Home	The Raising of the School Leaving Age	George Tomlinson, Minister for Education	
25.4.47, Third	Modern Trends in Education	W O Lester Smith *	<i>The Listener</i> ASG meet April 1947 to discuss the Content of Education between 11 & 18
3.6.47, Third	William Cobbett Versus the Ministry of Education	William Baring Pemberton	<i>The Listener</i>
3.10.47, Far Eastern Service, Red Network	English Educational Background	S H Wood ■	ASG meet July 1947 to discuss Universities & November 1947 to discuss the Educational Field from the Point of view of the Humanist and the Scientist.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
2.3.48, Third	THE DIALOGUES OF PLATO: The debate on Education from book 7 of the translation by A E Taylor	Herbert Read ■	Producer Rayner Heppenstall was generally against progressivism. <i>The Listener</i> ASG meet February 1948 to discuss Freedom in Education
21.9.48, Light	MEET THE PEOPLE: F E Ortman, Schoolmaster	F E Ortman, his wife and colleagues	From Marylebone grammar school. ASG meet May 1948 to discuss What is an Educated Man in Contemporary Society
11.48, Overseas	Education as a Social Force	John Newsom *	ASG meet October 1948 to discuss Educative Influences on Young People Outside School (Family/Leisure)
1.2.49, North of England Home Service	Discussion: How Many Kinds of Secondary School ?	Contributors include Alec Clegg ■	BBC in London wanted to use this but Manchester said the recording was damaged and the reels could not be replayed
3.2.49 North of England Home Service	The Future of Education	John Maud ■*	ASG meets January 1949 to discuss Education in France
6.3.49, Home	THE NEXT FIVE YEARS: Education	W O Lester Smith *	Other episodes in the Series were on food, sport, fashion and the Press.
21.5.49, Light	CAN I HELP YOU	S H Wood ■ talks about secondary education. R M Armfelt *	ASG meets April 1949 to discuss Part-Time Education including during National Service.
11.5.49, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR What our Listeners Think	Evelyn Gibbs Toby Weaver ■*	

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
9.8.49, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR General Certificate of Education	Roland Earl (secondary school teacher)	ASG meet July 1949 to discuss Juvenile Delinquency
19.9.49 Third	NEW CONCEPTS IN EDUCATION	F J Schonell *	
21.11.49, Home	THE RISING GENERATION: What are Children Promised by the Education Act?	W O Lester Smith *	ASG meet November 1949 to discuss The Population Report and Education
26.11.49, Light	NOWS YOUR CHANCE to ask questions about your Schools	Toby Weaver ■* Ministry of Education Chief Information Officer John Newsom * P T Ireton P J Osmond D B Scurfield The public of Stevenage	The other programmes in the series were about football, cricket, films, the health service and holidays.
28.11.49, Home	RISING GENERATION The Scholarship & All That	W O Lester Smith *	Other programmes in series (apart from the two listed here) look at what research shows to be main worries about school children: discipline, out of school activities and transfer to world of work.
2.2.50, Light	TOPIC FOR TONIGHT Equality of Opportunity	Honor Balfour ■	
13.2.50, European Service	Secondary Education in Britain	H M Burton	ASG meet February 1950 to discuss the Relationship between This Country and the Colonies in Educational Affairs

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
24.3.50, Home	News from Russia: Soviet Schools	Don Dallas	<i>The Listener</i>
6.4.50, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Changing Schools at 11	Mary Stuart	
6.5.50, Home	OUT OF THIS WOOD	A new play by John Mark	The action takes place at provincial secondary modern school – called Hillside
18.11.50, Light	EVERYBODY’S BUSINESS No Scholarship for Tom	Narrator: James McKechnie Written and produced by: Jenifer Wayne	ASG meet November 1950 to discuss the Relationship between Publically controlled systems of Education and Universities and Independent Schools.
14.1.51, Home	AIMS & OBSTACLES The Schoolmaster	T H J Davies, headmaster secondary modern school, South London.	
31.1.51, Third	THE DILEMMA IN EDUCATION	James Hemming	
9.2.51, Third	THE DILEMMA IN EDUCATION (Second Talk)	James Hemming	ASG meet February 1951 to discuss Recruitment and Training of Teachers
1.5.51, BBC TV	WOMEN’S VIEWPOINT The Education of Girls	E. Arnot Robertson (writer and broadcaster) Jill Craigie (film director and writer) Lilian Charlesworth (headmistress of Sutton High School for Girls, recently President of Headmistress Association)	

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
22.5.51, Home	A British Teacher Looks at Soviet Russia	Ronald Gould	
22.5.51, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Educating Eve	Ade Harrison, Diana Purcell & Sheila Conchie	
17.4.51, Light	THE HERITAGE OF BRITAIN The Briton at School	Narrator: John Usborne Head-masters of Bolventor School, Cornwall, Highwood Junior School, Bushey, Durrant's Secondary Modern School. Oroxley Green, and' Hertford Grammar School: the Headmistress of St. Albans Grammar School for Girls; a Housemaster of Westminster School; boys and girls of Bolventor School, Malvern Way, and Aboyne Lodge Infants' Schools, Highwood Junior School, St. Albans Girls Grammar School and Harrow School: a parent, Mr. Stanley Thacker; and the Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, Sir John Maud ■*	Stands out amongst programmes as having all these voices edited together – the edited programme was actually less adventurous than might be imagined.
27.6.51, Third	Education and Society	Benjamin Morris	May 1951 ASG meet to discuss Reform of Local Government in Relation to Education.
16.8.51, Home	CHOOSING CHILDREN	R M Armfelt *	Weaver ■* Not permitted to broadcast on this programme and Armfelt was his replacement

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1:
‘The Weak Spots in their Armour’ 1944–1952

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
25.8.51 BBC TV	SPEAKING PERSONALLY Eric James High Master of Manchester Grammar School	Eric James *	
19.12.51, General Overseas	SERIOUS ARGUMENT: Cuts in Educational Services	Walter Elliot James Griffiths	October 1951 ASG meet to discuss gains and losses in Educational Field in last ten years.
11.2.52, BBC TV	A ROOF OVER YOUR HEADS 3: <i>Schools</i>	John Newsom *	ASG meet to discuss technical education.
19.2.52, Light	ARGUMENT Can we afford to spend less on Education ?	Edgar Lustgarten David Hardman Sir William Darling	
26.2.52, Home	TAKING STOCK	Ronald Gould Alec Clegg ■ Graham Savage * Major General Lloyd Jack Longland *	
18.3.52, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR A Failure at Eleven ?	Edith Harry	ASG meet to discuss Education in Sweden and Switzerland.
General Overseas Service	SERIOUS ARGUMENT: the fairness of selection of children for grammar schools	Frank Byers Derek Walker Smith John Hynd	
10.6.52, Light	CITIZENSHIP: A School for John, the provision of schools in the imaginary city of Millborough and how pupils are selected.	A Series of Talks on Local Government by Reginald Perry	ASG meet July 1952 to review Universal Secondary Education, 8 years after 1944 Act. The other programmes in Citizenship Series included one on council houses.
20.6.52 Third	Impressions of American Education	Richard Livingstone	<i>The Listener</i>
16.11.52 M Home Service	Children in Russia	Hilda Lewis	ASG meet October 1952 to discuss public taste.

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‘I beseech you gentlemen to believe it is possible that you may be mistaken’
1953–1959

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
4.1.53 Overseas	Tomorrows Citizens	Robert Mackenzie	
11.2.53, Home	Talk on democratic education	Eric James *	<i>The Listener</i>
18.2.53, Home	Talk on democratic education	Eric James *	<i>The Listener</i>
25.2.53, Home	Talk on democratic education	Eric James *	<i>The Listener</i>
4.3.53 Home	Talk on democratic education	Eric James *	<i>The Listener</i>
4.3.53, Home	CAN'T WE DO BETTER THAN THIS? Our Schools	Roy Lewis M V C Jeffreys * Alec Clegg ■ Ronald Gould, J F Wolfenden *	Other programmes in this Series are on roads and food.
8.3.53, Asian Club	EDUCATION TODAY	Margery Fry J F Wolfenden *	
18.8.53, BBC TV	LEISURE & PLEASURE Parents' Problems	Jeanne Heal John Newsom *	ASG meet June 1953 to discuss Education and Society, with special reference to Moral Training and juvenile delinquency.
6.9.53, European	WHAT WE TEACH OUR CHILDREN The English Grammar School	Harry Rée *	
31.10.53 London Calling Asia,	THE LONG VIEW: The True Purpose of Education	J F Wolfenden *	ASG meet October 1953 to discuss amusement in Education.
11.11.53, Home Service Midland	Super-Specialisation	Jacob Bronowski J F Wolfenden *	<i>The Listener</i>
29.12.53, Home	Two ways Through School	Michael Croft	<i>The Listener</i>
25.1.54, Overseas	Greek or Chemistry or Both?	Robert Birley *	
14.3.54, Home	What Next: Education	Eric James *	ASG meet February 1954 to discuss Education for Management
17.5.54, Home	PUTTING IT ACROSS A Schoolmaster's Reflections	John Usborne	ASG meet May 1954 to discuss recruitment of teachers.
2.6.54, Home	1) Grammar, Technical or Modern?	Harry Rée * W P Jennings, F A Croft	Repeated

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
3.6.54, Home	2) Which Child to Which School?	Norman Fisher * Jack Longland * J J B Dempster, A F Watts	Repeated
10.6.54, Home	3) Is the Organisation of Secondary Education Too Rigid?	Norman Fisher * Kenneth Hutton Robert Macintyre Alan Green	
11.6.54, Home	4) Is the Comprehensive School the Answer?	Norman Fisher * Margaret Miles * Harry Rée * Alec Clegg ■ W H Chinn	
11.6.54 London Calling Asia, Red Network	SPIRIT OF THE AGE: Doctor Arnold & Education of Character	J F Wolfenden *	
5.10.54, Home	Schooling 1954 Answering Listener Questions	Contributors include Francis Consitt, W H Perkins, E B Castle Norman Fisher *	
Recorded 7.10.54 Transcription and dispatch to Australia, Pacific Service.	THIS IS BRITAIN	Mary Green ■ Interviewed by Patrica Brent	ASG meet October 1954 to discuss Democracy and Government in Education.
24.10.54 European/English by radio	TALKING ABOUT BRITAIN: Education (2)	Mary Green ■	
30.1.55, Home	The Idea of a Village College	Henry Morris *	<i>The Listener</i>
22.2.55, Overseas	At Home & Abroad: The Eleven Plus controversy	Philip E Vernon	ASG meet February 1955 to discuss Examinations in Schools & Universities.
1.3.55, Home	Leaving School Early	W F Houghton	
3.3.55, Home	Early School Leaving	Francis Cammaerts * C R Evers Ronald Nesbitt Hawes R F Poskitt Norman Fisher *	<i>The Listener</i> ASG meet May 1955 to discuss problems in colonial territories & problems of colonial student.
8.55, North of England Home Service	Schools in the Soviet Union	Shena Simon	
25.8.55 General Overseas Service	THIS DAY AND AGE End of Term	Harold Nicholson	

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21.10.55, Home	Citizens of Tomorrow	J F Wolfenden *	ASG meet October 1955 to discuss Incentives Standards Discipline – What is the Substitute for Fear?
1.11.55, Home	At Home & Abroad: Kent County Council and the 11 plus controversy	Graham Savage *	<i>The Listener</i>
3.11.55, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Looking at the News, 11-Plus Examination	Robert Reid	
18.1.56, BBC TV	MAINLY FOR WOMEN The Eleven Plus Examination	John Newsom * answers questions	ASG meet February 1956 to discuss The Arts in England.
10.12.56 Overseas	Education	H C Dent * John Newsom * Richard Goolld-Adams	
12.2.56, Home	Tradition Faces a Challenge: a proposal for new learning	Alec Peterson *	<i>The Listener</i>
24.2.56, Light	Ps & Qs What is a Secondary Modern School?	Francis Cammaerts *	
2.3.56, General Overseas Service	British Technical Education	Earl of Halsbury	Scientist & Managing Director of National Research Development Corporation 1949–59
7.3.56, Home	HOME AFFAIRS Comprehensive Schools	Humphrey Berkeley	
21.4.56 General Overseas Service	TRAINING FOR THE TECHNOCRACY: The Age of Decision		
4.5.56, Home	‘Eleven Plus The Labyrinth’	A play by Bill Billingham followed by Discussion between headmasters and parents	ASG meet May 1956 to discuss the Rise of the Welfare State and its Consequences.
4.6.56, European	EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION 6: The Comprehensive School	Mary Green ■	Broadcast in English
7.7.56, Asian	Education	Lord Halisham	(Quentin Hogg)

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
11.7.56, BBC TV	DIXON OF DOCK GREEN Eleven Plus		
29.7.56, General Overseas Service	COMMENTARY Parent Teacher Associations	Jeanne Heal	
11.9.56, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Three Words: Five Interpretations ‘A Good Education’	Joyce Wood Wendy Dewar Durie John Newsom * Ruth Drew George Scott	
26.9.56, BBC TV	REPORT FROM AMERICA Some of the problems of secondary education in the United States	Narrator: Joseph C Harach	
28.9.56, Third	Training of Teachers	Francis Consitt M J Bishop W P Alexander ■ H C Dent *	
27.11.56, Light	ON THE SPOT The Eleven Plus	Gilbert Harding Edward Ward Cyril Ray	ASG meet November 1956 to discuss the future of Voluntary Effort in the Welfare State.
17.12.56, Third	EDUCATION Some Objections to Intelligence Tests	Oliver Zangwill	
21.1.57, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Parents’ Preference for Grammar Schools	Margaret Miles * Edward Blishen	
22.1.57, BBC TV	Eleven Plus	A play by Elaine Morgan	
28.1.57, Light	Social Class and Educational Opportunity	Margaret Miles * Edward Blishen	
1.2.57, BBC TV	CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION: Eleven Plus and After	Introduced by Robert Mackenzie	ASG meet February 1957 to discuss the social responsibilities of industry

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
10.2.57, Third	EDUCATION Secondary Modern	Edward Blishen	<i>The Listener</i>
20.2.57, Third	EDUCATION Secondary Modern: the teachers’ approach to education in that type of school	Edward Blishen	Repeated
3.3.57, Home	Is the Secondary Modern a Success?	Norman Fisher * (Chair) Albert Rowe Alec Clegg ■ Harry Rée * Robin Pedley	
28.4.57, Home	What is an educated man?	Stuart Hampshire P B Medawar Noel Annan	
5.5.57, Third	Child Centred Education	G Bantock	Repeated 15 May
5.6.57, Third	EDUCATION Recalcitrant Grammar	A R Bielby	Repeated 7 June
30.6.57, Third	EDUCATION Tout Comprendre: the idea of a common secondary school	Margaret Miles *	ASG meet June 1957 to discuss Education and the Environment
7.7.57, Asian	Education (answering questions put by an audience)	Lord Hailsham	Quentin Hogg
15.7.57, Third	American Way of School Life	Jack Longland *	<i>The Listener</i>

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29.8.57, Home	The Leicestershire Experiment	Stuart Maclure * Stewart Mason ■ Alec Clegg ■ C Arrand, Harry Davies,	
27.9.57, Home	Learning to Live Together	John Mackay	<i>The Listener</i>
2.10.57, Third	Child-centred Education: A Defence	H A T Child	
7.10.57, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN Some Questions on the 11 Plus	F Lincoln Ralphs ■ Roy Nash	ASG meet to discuss Britain, Europe and the Commonwealth.
4.11.57, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN Some Questions on Education	F Lincoln Ralphs ■ Roy Nash	
20.11.57, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Guest of the week: Margaret Miles	Margaret Miles *	
6.1.58, Network Three	Answers Questions about Education	F Lincoln Ralphs ■	ASG meet February 1958 to discuss the Middle East.
25.5.58, Third	Aims in Education	Richard Peters	In <i>The Listener</i> ASG meet June 1958 to discuss Industry and apprenticeships.
16.7.58, Home	Should the Grammar School Go?	Norman Fisher * Ronald Bielby Harry Davies Margaret Miles * John Wellens	
26.11.58, Home	FOR THE SCHOOLS Secondary Schools For All: The Education Act of 1944	Margaret Wood	

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
19.1.59, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN: Spotlight on the Secondary Modern School	F Lincoln Ralphs ■ C. Arrand Mrs K Gee Mrs Miller Mrs Mantle Mr Leys	Repeated 22.1.59 ASG meet February 1959 to discuss Publicity and Public Opinion.
1.5.59, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Grammar School and Beyond	A Survey by Joan Yorke Brian Ferrat Dr K Hutton	ASG meet May 1959 to discuss 15 – 20 Years: Growing Up
18.5.59, Third	Dissipated Octopuses	Maurice de Sausamarez	<i>The Listener</i>
7.7.59, Third	Darwin’s Bulldog: T H Huxley contribution to thought in education	Charles Raven	Raven supported Peace Pledge Union.
8.8.59, Third	The Imperatives of Educational Strategy	Charles Snow	
30.8.59, Third	The Practical, the Cultural and the Mumbo-Jumbo: Some thoughts on the Curriculum of English Secondary Schools	John Sharp	
22.10.59, Overseas	Art & Sciences in School	Asa Briggs Alec Peterson * A B Pippard	ASG meet November 1959 to discuss Health in the Community/National Health Service

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
Broadcast date uncertain. May or may not have been broadcast as part of a magazine programme. BBC TV	MAINLY FOR WOMEN: Mayfield School for Girls	Margaret Miles * and pupils from Mayfield School.	Production Files poorly kept at BBC WAC and <i>Radio Times</i> do not make it clear if this footage was ever used in the programme.
11.12.59, Home	AT HOME & ABROAD Report on the Central Advisory Council for Education.	Walter James interviews Sir Geoffrey Crowther	
31.12.59, Light	WOMAN'S HOUR Out of the News Special educational needs of women	W Mansfield Cooper Marjorie Reeves *	Marjorie Reeves appears rarely in BBC broadcasts but was a member of Gurney Dixon Committee on Early School Leaving in 1954 & was on the Crowther Committee and subsequently an ASG member.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 3
‘Shall We Throw The Dregs Away?’ 1960–1965

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
25.2.60, Home	MATTERS OF THE MOMENT: That Last Year at School	Asa Briggs, A W Rowe, Beryl Foyle, G C Johnson	ASG meet February 1960 to discuss Reports including Crowther, Albermarle & Williams.
26.3.60, Home	IN TOWN TONIGHT: New book about London’s first comprehensive by Miss Chetwynd.		Mentioned in Cawston’s file as a programme of interest in terms of education.
20.5.60, Home	A DAY AT SCHOOL: A Secondary Modern School	Compiled and Produced by Owen Leeming	Repeated 5.9.60 ASG meet May 1960 to discuss Africa.
16.8.60, BBC TV	Kings Hill Modern	Written By Alan Hancock. Produced by Sheila Rees	Dramatized Documentary of a Secondary Modern School. Reviewed in <i>The Listener</i>
15.9.60, BBC TV	<u>FAMILY AFFAIRS</u> Choosing a School	Tyrrell Burgess explains the work of the Advisory Centre for Education	This is a magazine programme and only part of the programme is about ACE.
1.10.60, Home	Time out of School	Mary Stewart	ASG meet October 1960 to discuss the Shape of the New Universities
19.11.60, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Interview: Miss Neville Rolfe	Joan Yorke (interviewer) Miss Neville Rolfe	
29.11.60, BBC TV	LOOKOUT: The New School Tie From Crown Woods Comprehensive School	David Lutyens (interviewer) Malcolm Keir Ross	Repeated 5.4.61
12.1.61, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Interview: Helen Brock, founder of the Association for the Advancement of State Education	Mollie Lee (interviewer) Helen Brock	ASG meet January 1961 to discuss Crime and Community

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
20.3.61, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN Teenagers Talk	D L Howard	
22.3.61, Third	<i>Secondary Modern & Social Realism</i>	William Taylor *	
30.4.61, Home	HOME FOR THE DAY: the Cost of an Old School Tie	Elizabeth Webb	ASG meet May 1961 to discuss the Education of Artists and Designers for Industry
10.5.61 Light	ROUNDABOUT Tonight’s Topic. NUT report on eleven-plus. Walter James.		Mentioned in Cawston’s file as a programme of interest in terms of education.
11.6.61, Network Three	SOUND: Tape in School	Joyce Williams, Frideswede secondary modern, Dicot and Graham Jones, Temple secondary school, Strood.	
7.7.61 Home	TEN O’CLOCK NEWS Exam for School Leavers	Robert Beloe *	Mentioned in Cawston’s file as a programme of interest in terms of education.
9.7.61, Home	Results of the Verse and Worse competition	The Competition was set by Honor Wyatt, 18 June, 1961.	
20.7.61, Light	Out of the News	W P Alexander ■ George Scott	

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
28.7.61, Third,	<i>Greek in the Kitchen: A Symposium on Education for Girls</i>	Stuart Maclure * Lady Ogilvie * Bernadine Wall, John Newsom * James Hemming, Lois Mitchison, Shirley Williams, Kathleen Ollerenshaw, Enid Hutchinson, Mary Green ■ Miss K Lockley, Miss M Kindred, Dorothy Neville Rolfe	(NOT in <i>The Listener</i>)
26.9.61, Home	THE TUESDAY TALK: <i>Shall we throw the dregs away?</i>	David Holbrook, Edited from private tape including pupils’ voices from Basingbourn Village College.	ASG meet October 1961 to discuss Independence in Education.
24.11.61, Home	TEN O’CLOCK. Can Mechanisation help teaching?	Norman Fisher *	Mentioned in Cawston’s file as a programme of interest in terms of education.
28.12.61, Third	<i>Content and Discontent</i>	V L Allen	
2.1.62 Home	TEN O’CLOCK <i>New Ideas on Education</i>	H C Dent *	Mentioned in Cawston’s file as a programme of interest in terms of education.
5.1.62, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR: Interview of Helen Brock on Campaign	Mollie Lee Helen Brock	
22.1.62, Network Three	GROWING UP IN THE 1960s Staying on at School	Edward Blishen Brian Groombridge Mary Green ■	

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
11.3.62, Third	<i>Education and the Working Class</i>	Alec Clegg ■	ASG meet to discuss schools in Russia, Germany & France
8.4.62, Third	Architecture and Development	Peter Laslett William Allen	
25.4.62, BBC TV	<i>Our School: portrait of a Secondary Modern School</i>	Director: John Krish	NOT a BBC production. An NUT film, which was shown on BBC TV.
8.5.62, Home	ALL ON HER OWN <i>The New Music Mistress</i> Miss Isherwood went from a small private girls’ school with fifteen in a class to a 600-strong secondary modern school with forty boys and girls in a class.	Millicent Isherwood	Repeated 27.8.62
6.6.62, Light	<i>Educating the Brilliant Child</i>	John Vaizey, Walter Furneaux	
16.8.62, Home	<i>Too Many Exams</i>	Leslie Smith J J B Dempster Norman Carter A D C Peterson * Brian Jackson	
18.9.62, BBC TV	<i>The Schools</i>	Over 80 teachers talk anonymously to the camera. Written and Produced by Richard Cawston.	Repeated 25.4.63. Reviewed in <i>The Listener</i>
14.11.62, Home	Education Faces the Future	Catherine Avent * James Hemming, Peter Parker, John Cruickshank	ASG meet October 1962 to discuss Religious Education in National System
10.12.62, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN <i>School Reports</i>	Margaret Miles *	

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
4.1.63, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN <i>Newsom Report Discussion</i>	Leslie Smith Dinah Brook	
28.1.63, Network Three	EDUCATION TODAY <i>Secondary Modern Grammar and Technical schools</i>	Edward Blishen, John Driscoll, Davies, Nevill Mott, W D Wall	
4.2.63, Network Three	EDUCATION TODAY <i>Transfer from junior to Secondary School</i>	Jeremy Mulford Emlyn Stephens, Brenda Fooks, P E Vernon, W D Wall, J W B Douglas, Denis Marsden Dr Cook	
11.2.63, Network Three	EDUCATION TODAY <i>Experiments in Secondary Education</i>	Charles Parkin, Brian Simon, Mary Green n R J Thom, Margaret Miles * Stewart C Mason ■ T Baxter, F Oldham, Alec Clegg ■	
25.2.63, Network Three	Leaving School	Includes: Davies, John Driscoll, Mary Green ■ Edward Blishen	
26.2.63, Home	THE TUESDAY TALK: <i>Towards a Grammar School Culture</i>	John Beavan	<i>The Listener</i>
1.4.63, Network Three	The Place of the Parent	Includes: Brian Jackson	
9.4.63, Third	FRONTIERS OF SOCIOLOGY: <i>Education and Mobility</i>	A H Halsey *	<i>The Listener</i>

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
24.4.63, Third	The Young Affluents	Alan Little Basil Bernstein John Driscoll George Melly	<i>The Listener</i> with photograph.
12.7.63, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR <i>Ideal Education For a Girl</i>	Marghanita Laski ■	ASG meet June 1963 to discuss New Courses in Universities and their effect on schools
15.7.63, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN Leslie Smith questions why the secondary modern school is out of favour.		
1.8.63, Home	<i>I Never Went to School</i>	Malcolm Hulke	
11.9.63, BBC TV	CITIZEN 63: <i>Marion Knight</i>	Marion Knight & friends Directed by John Boorman	Reviewed in <i>The Listener</i>
25.11.63, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN <i>Problems at 16 Plus</i>	Maurice Hussey	ASG meet October 1963 to discuss Africa’s needs and the West.
9.1.64, Home	That Last Year at School	F D Flower, Mary Green ■ Nicholas Harman, Basil Bernstein	
24.1.64, Network Three	EDUCATION IN ACTION	H C Dent * Edward Blishen * Brian Jackson Harvey	
4.2.64, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR IN MY OPINION: David Rubinstein	David Rubinstein	

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Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
20.2.64, Home	Going Comprehensive	Raymond King	<i>The Listener</i> including cover photograph of a classroom with a teacher in a gown. ASG meet February/March 1964 to discuss Robbins Report
21.2.64, Third	Educating Half Ourselves	G H Bantock	Broadcast Repeated & <i>The Listener</i>
20.5.64, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Interview with headmistress of North London Collegiate	Kitty Anderson	ASG meet February / March 1964 to discuss Robbins Report
22.5.64, Home	THE INTERVAL: A Long Chalk The head master of a secondary modern school in Staffordshire looks back over 40 years.	Walter Wright	
22.5.64, Network Three	EDUCATION IN ACTION The Ages for Starting and Leaving School	John Newsom * Brian Groombridge Francis Cammaerts * John Driscoll Mr T Smith J A Lauverys Jeremy Mulford	
26.5.64, Home	It Takes All Sorts	Leigh Crutchley talks to teacher Adam Taylor	
24.5.64, Network Three	PARENTS & CHILDREN <i>At Arms Length</i> Do teachers create a barrier between parents and schools?	Michael Marland, Head of English at a Comprehensive	Magazine programme. This is one item.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 3
‘Shall We Throw The Dregs Away?’ 1960–1965

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
26.6.64, Network Three	Education in Action	Lionel Elvin, Brian Groombridge, Francis Cammaerts*, Paston Brown, Mary Green ■	ASG meet July 1964 to discuss Newsom Report
4.9.64, BBC 1	CHOICE: <i>Back to School But Where?</i>	Introduced by Derek Hart. ACE was set up four years ago – what is it trying to achieve and can it help you?	This is a magazine programme and only part of the programme is about ACE.
25.10.64, Home	The Outdoor Myth	Jack Longland *	ASG meet October 1964 to discuss Local Government the Contemporary Dilemma
3.11.64, Home	PARENTS & CHILDREN: Training the Teachers	John Newsom, * Dinah Brook, Alex Evans, Leslie Smith	
3.12.64, Home	A SECOND START: Ideas in Education: Secondary School Reorganisation	Introduced by Robert Owen	
20.12.64, BBC 2	LANDMARKS: The School	Pupils & teachers of Warslow Secondary School, Staffordshire. Director: Charles Denton	Repeated on BBC 1
24.1.65, BBC 1	Education of Girls	Joan Bakewell John Newsom *	
28.1.65, Home	A SECOND START: Ideas in Education – influence of newspapers, advertising and television on children.	Enid Love Patrick McGeeney A W Rowe	
11.2.65, Home	A SECOND START: Portrait of a Secondary School. Are the Dice loaded against the unacademic child?	Tony Gibson. Recordings made ‘on the spot’ at a Secondary Modern School in Yorkshire.	The ASG meet February 1965 to discuss transition school to work aged 15/16.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 3
‘Shall We Throw The Dregs Away?’ 1960–1965

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
25.2.65, Home	A SECOND START: Ideas in Education: Portrait of a Grammar School – What Pressures?	Tony Gibson reports on a Midlands Grammar School.	
7.3.65, BBC 1	MEETING POINT: Learning to Live	Mary Bray Malcolm K Ross ■	
22.3.65, BBC 2	The Human Side: Two Bright Boys		NOT reviewed in <i>The Listener</i>
11.3.65, Home	A SECOND START: Ideas in Education – Portrait of a Comprehensive. How easy to get lost? How easy to get on? How many growing pains?	Tony Gibson reports on a Home Counties Comprehensive.	
23.3.65, Light	WOMAN’S HOUR Talking Heads – Three headmistresses		
16.5.65, Home	The Case of the Pressure Group (CASE)	Douglas Brown (interviewer) Edward Boyle ■ G H Sylvester ■ Brian Jackson Walter Minchinton	Crosland declines the invitation to take part letter to Keen 23 Feb 1965 R W J Mitchell. Boyle became a member of the ASG but after 1965.
22.9.65, Home	THE INTERVAL: A Great Headmaster T R Dawes by J L Carr	J L Carr	

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 3
‘Shall We Throw The Dregs Away?’ 1960–1965

Transmission & Service	Title of Programme (+Series when applicable)	Main Contributors	Notes
8.10.65, Home	A SECOND START: Education in Action Organisation and Partnership	Stuart Maclure * Anthony Crosland William Alexander ■ Ronald Gould	ASG meet October 1965 to discuss Comprehensive Schools
25.10.65, Home	The Immigrant at School	Gordon Bowker	
29.10.65, Home	A SECOND START Education in Action – Running a School	Stuart Maclure * Margaret Miles * Alan Barker (Headmaster of Leys School, Cambridge)	
26.11.65, Home	A SECOND START: Education in Action – The Pressure Groups	W. E. Minchinton, Mrs. D. Silberston, Brian Jackson, Roy Nash, Stuart Maclure *	
3.12.65, Home	A SECOND START: The Role of the Central Advisory Council.	John Newsom * Stuart Maclure *	

Figures

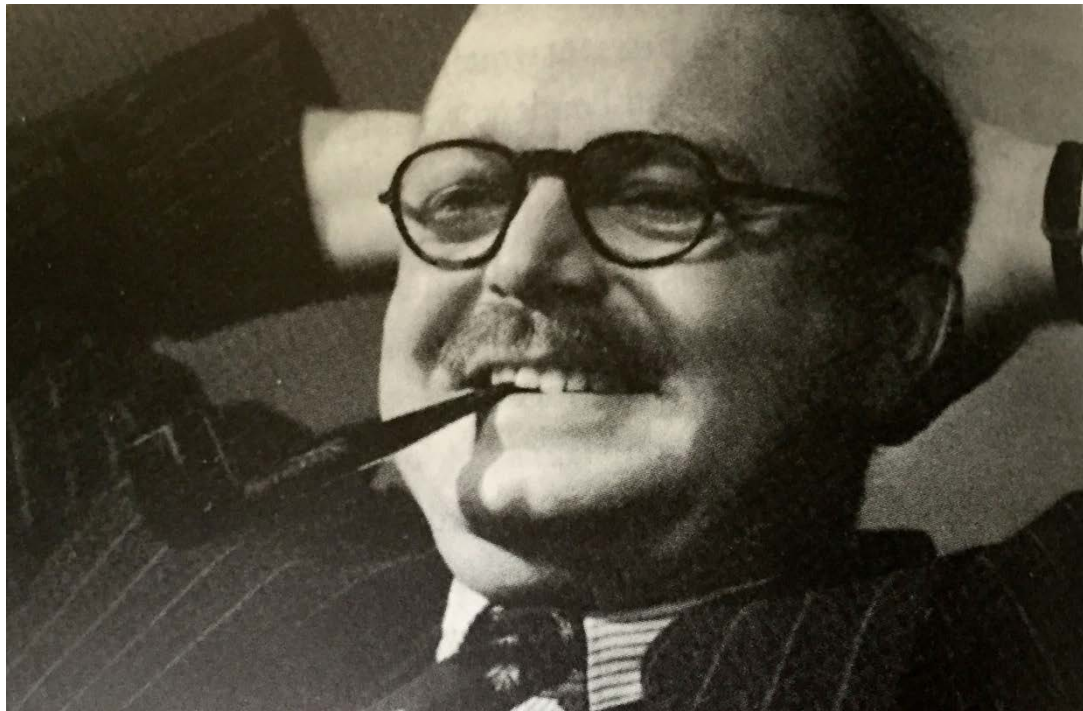


Figure 1 – Photograph of John Newsom captioned ‘John Newsom in ebullient mood, 1950’ reproduced on page 188, in David Parker *John Newsom: A Hertfordshire Educationist* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005).



Figure 2 – Photograph of Richard Hoggart with actress Joyce Grenfell in a meeting of the Pilkington Committee on Broadcasting, 1962. <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk>.



Figure 3 – Photograph of Harry Rée reproduced in E. D. Cookridge *They Came From the Sky: the stories of Francis Cammaerts, Roger Landes, Harry Rée* (London: Heinemann, 1965).



Figure 4 – Photograph of Eric James (undated), Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York: JAM, Records of Lord James of Rusholme.



Figure 5 – Detail from a painting of Dame Margaret Miles, oil on canvas (1974) by Pauline Clark, BAC Moving Museum, Wandsworth Collection.



Figure 6 – Photograph of Stuart Maclure, (undated, presumably taken between 1969–1989 when he was editor of The Times Educational Supplement).

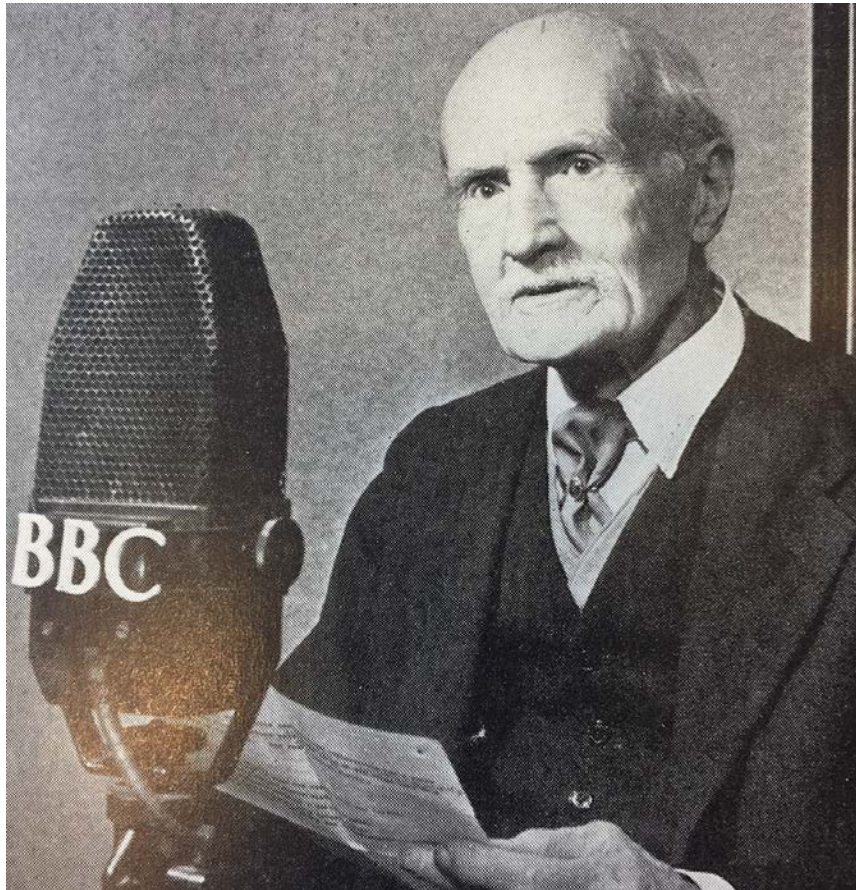


Figure 7 – Photograph of Gilbert Murray, *BBC Yearbook 1948* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation), page unnumbered.



Figure 8 – BBC Photograph of Norman Fisher (centre of group of 5) chairing a BBC television broadcast 'The Brain's Trust', 26 October 1958.



Figure 9 – Portrait of Sir Peter Newsam, oil on canvas (1997) by Ying Sang Yang, Institute of Education, UCL.



Figure 10 – Still from ‘Citizen 63: Marion Knight’ (1963).



Figure 11 – Photograph of Marion Knight, used on her Funeral Order of Service cover, May 2013.



Figure 12 – BBC portrait photograph of Stephen Bonarjee (undated).



Figure 13 – Photograph of Arthur Frederic Brownlow Fforde by Walter Bird (undated) National Portrait Gallery, NPG number: x167529.



Figure 14 – Photograph of John Scupham chairing a meeting at the BBC during the 1950s, from the collection of his son, Peter Scupham.

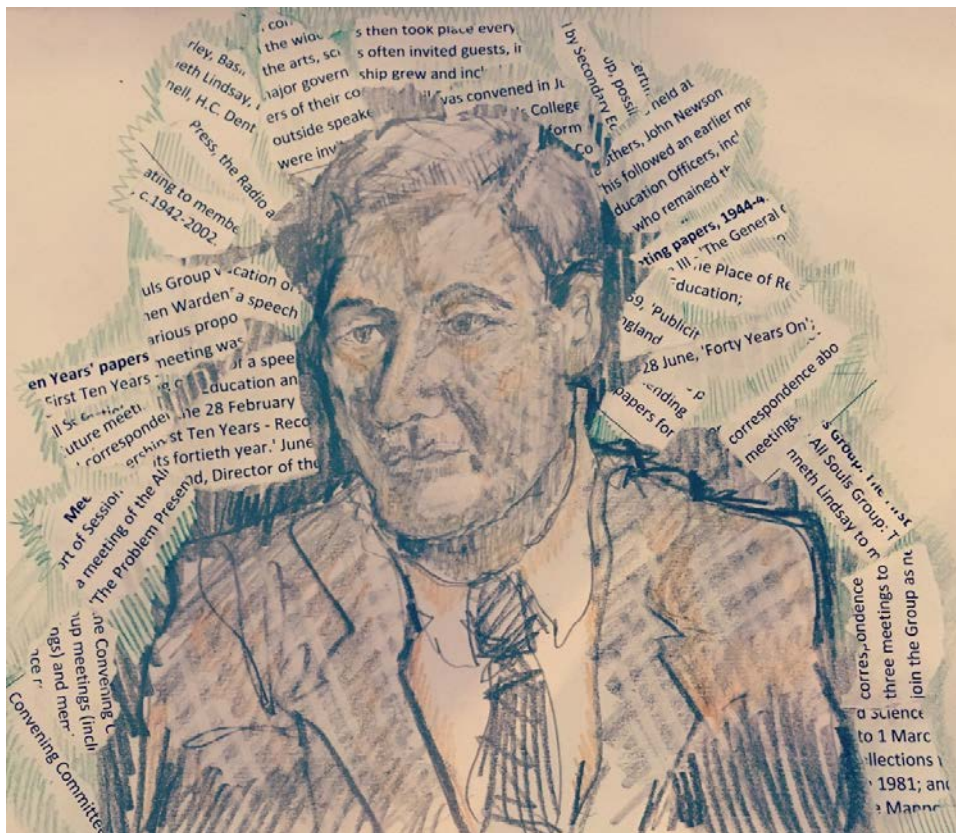


Figure 15 – Collage of Shredded Catalogue: Kenneth Lindsay and the problem of archiving Chatham House Rule. Pencil drawing of Kenneth Lindsay by Lottie Hoare from a poor quality photograph found on Google images & Collage made from a shredded copy of the ASG catalogue from the Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL.



Figure 16 – Photograph of Jack Longland (undated) from the collection of Nick Longland.



Figure 17 – Portrait of John Primatt Redcliffe-Maud, oil on canvas (1973) by Ruskin Spear, National Portrait Gallery.



Figure 18 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from the montage sequence in the original edit of ‘This Is the BBC’ (1959). From left to right, Kenneth Williams, Isaiah Berlin and Kenneth Horne appear to share a script. This drawing is used to illustrate L. Hoare ‘Dons not Clowns: Isaiah Berlin challenges Cawston’s edit of the educator’, *History of Education*, 46, 2017, 1.



Figure 19 – John Stirling (ed.) *The Bible for To-Day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), illustrated by Rowland Hilder and other artists. Image captioned ‘When I was a Little Child My Father Used to Teach me’, page 685. Linked to proverb 3,4 ‘A Father’s Counsel’, page 668.

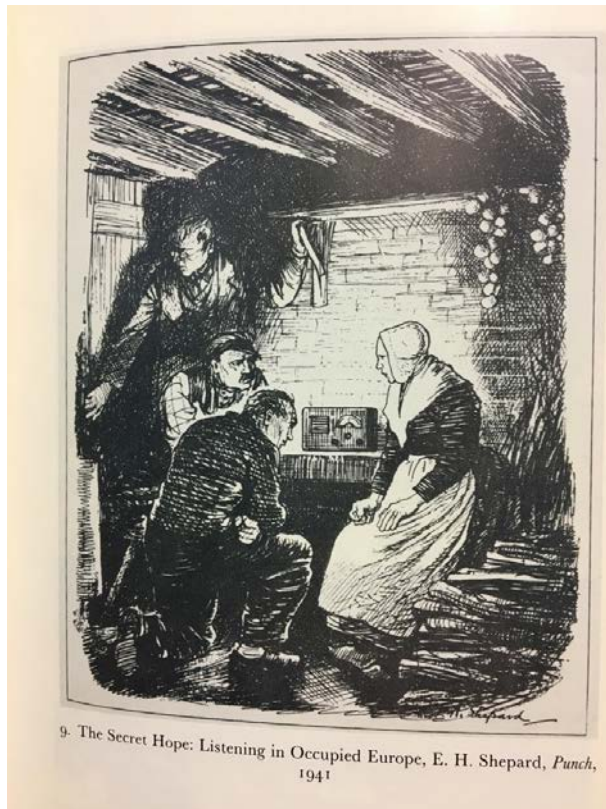


Figure 20 – ‘The Secret Hope: Listening in Occupied Europe’. Engraving by E H Shepard, *Punch* 1941.



Figure 21 – Edward Boyle, then Parliamentary Secretary at the Ministry of Education, with a child at the Franklin D Roosevelt School for physically handicapped children, 1957. Reproduced in Stuart Maclure *One Hundred Years of London Education 1870–1970* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970) Boyle also held the post of managing director of Allen Lane/Penguin in 1967.

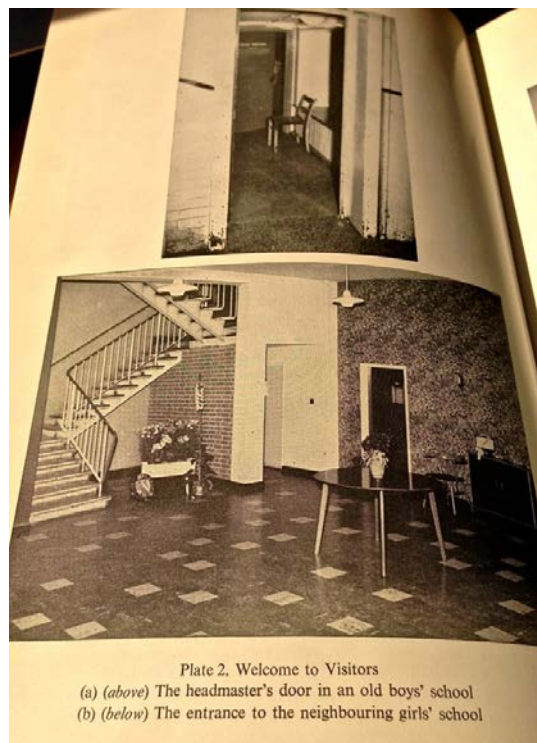


Figure 22 – Plate 2, Welcome to Visitors (a) (above) The headmaster's door in an old boys school. (b) (Below) The entrance to the neighbouring girls' school from The Newsom Report (1963), Ministry of Education, *Half Our Future*, A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office).

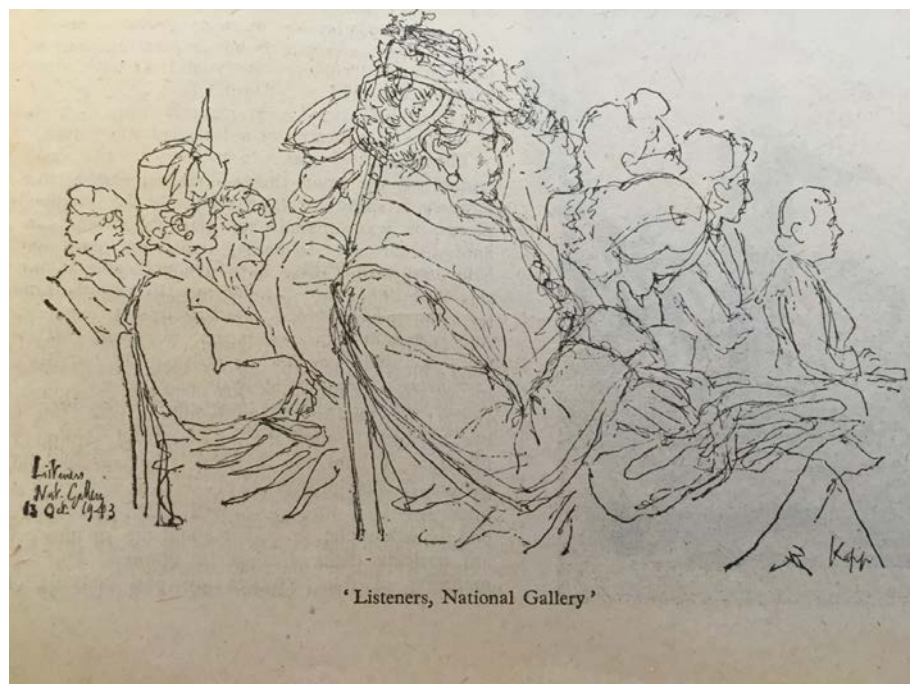


Figure 23 – 'Listeners, National Gallery', Edmund Kapp, reproduced in *The Listener* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1929–1959) October 1946.



Figure 24 – Sketch on the reverse of a script in a box of uncatalogued Overseas scripts dating from the 1940s, unsigned and undated, BBC WAC.

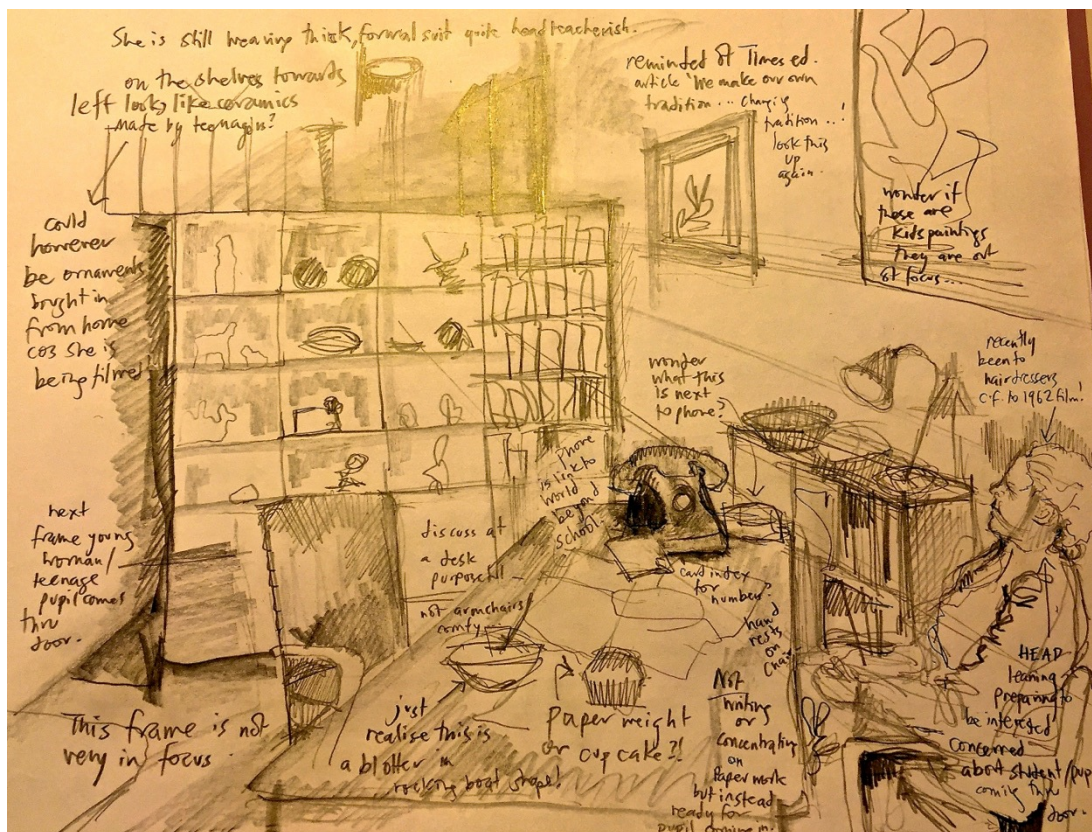


Figure 25 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from 'Mainly for Women: Mayfield School for Girls' (1959). This sketch shows Margaret Miles in her study at Mayfield. The written notes are things I noticed or thought about while drawing.



Figure 26 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from the BFI collection of ciné films (No.8) made by a teacher at Mayfield School (early 1960s). This sketch shows two girls playing netball on an educational cruise trip to North Africa. BFI Identifier: 612221.



Figure 27 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from the BFI collection of ciné films made by a teacher at Mayfield School (1955). This sketch shows a classroom scene from the grammar school in the final summer term before it became a comprehensive. BFI Identifier: 470587.

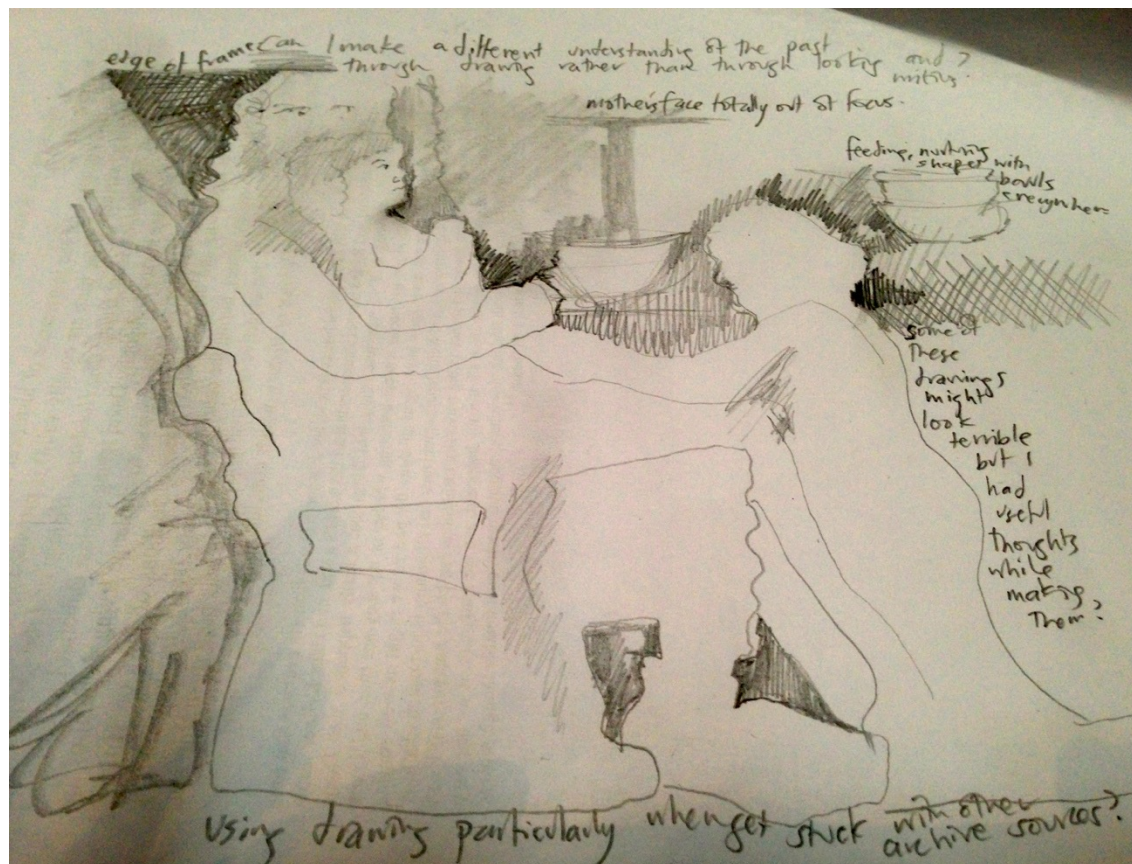


Figure 28 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from ‘Mainly for Women: Mayfield School for Girls’ (1959). This sketch shows a small clay sculpture made by a pupil in an art room at the school. The written notes are questions that came to mind while drawing.

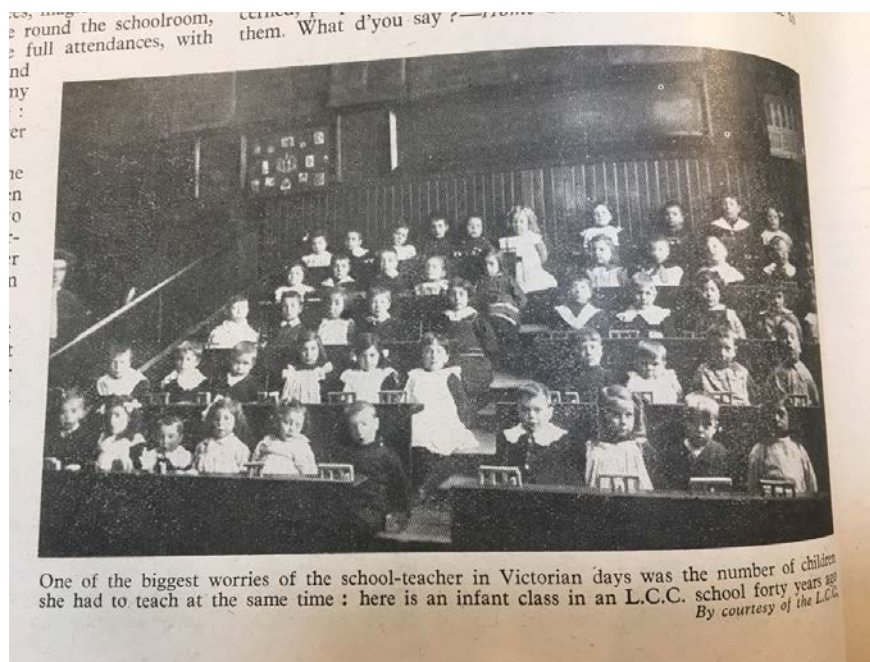


Figure 29 – Photograph reproduced in *The Listener*, 10 July 1941, page 57.

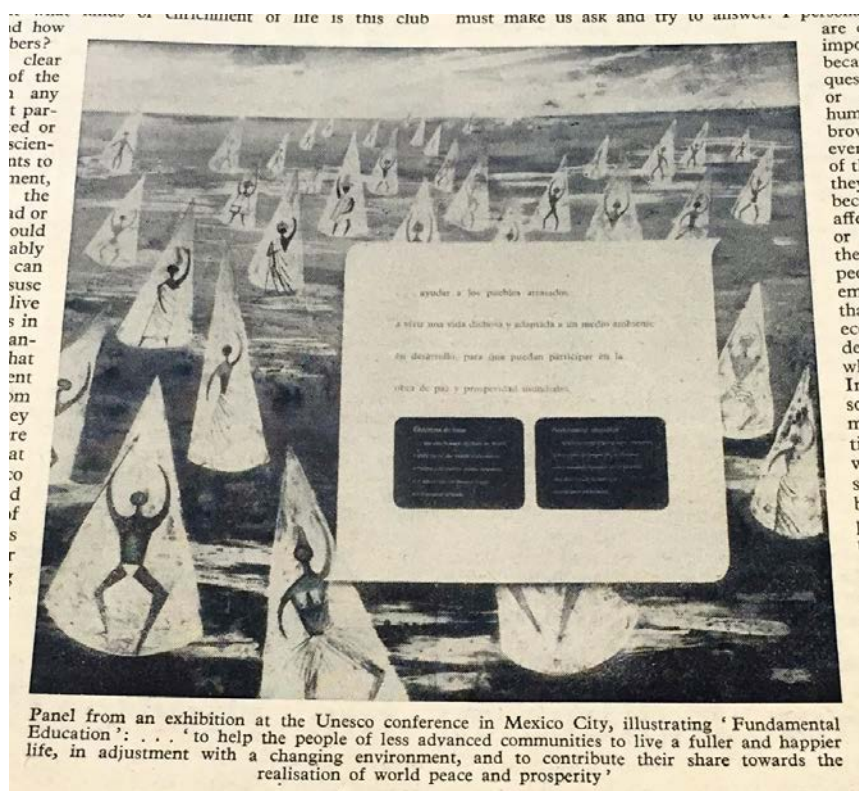


Figure 30 – *The Listener* 6 November 1947, caption reads: 'Panel from an exhibition at the Unesco conference in Mexico city illustrating 'Fundamental Education' 'to help people of less advanced communities to live a fuller and happier life, in adjustment with a changing environment, and to continue their share towards the realization of world peace and prosperity.' Used to illustrate an article by John Maud entitled 'Enriching the Lives of Ordinary People'. Artist not named.



Educational Project

The use of visual aids in schools, so far from mechanising the child, means a more intelligent understanding of the subject. Films compel attention and stimulate interest. If they are also to aid the process of learning they must be closely tied to what is known already and what must be taught. Faced with this problem, British Instructional Films (in association with Pathe Pictures) have overcome it by forming a progressive production unit in which expert film-makers co-operate with experienced teachers.

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Figure 31 – Advert from *The Listener*, 1947.



Figure 32 – Portrait of Roger Noel Armfelt, Special Collections, University of Leeds: LUA/PHC/001/11.



Figure 33 – BBC photograph of Barry Bucknell (undated).



Figure 34 – BBC photograph of Audrey Russell (undated).

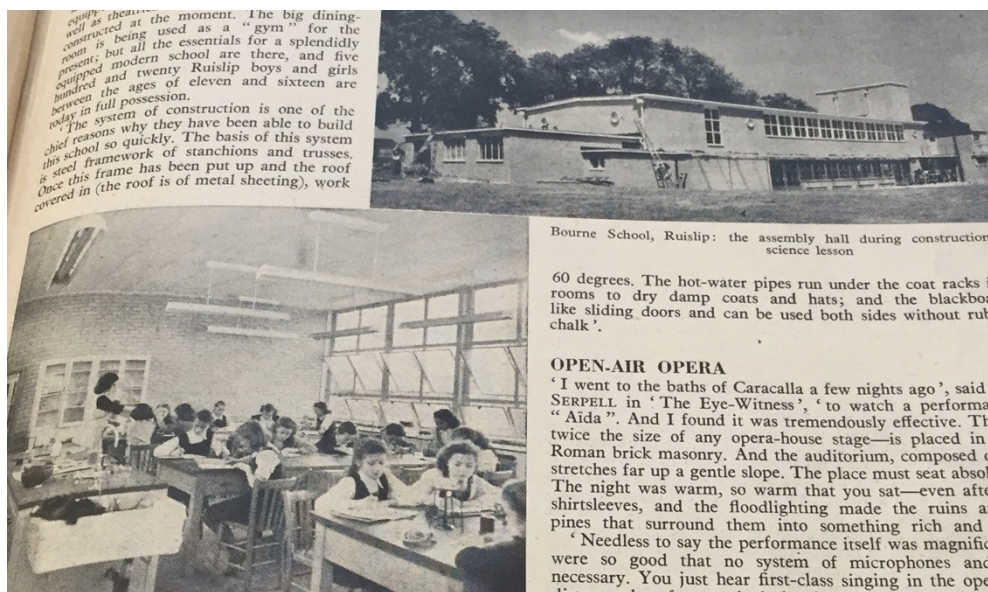


Figure 35 – Photograph of a science lesson at Bourne Secondary School, Ruislip, *The Listener*, 7 August 1947.

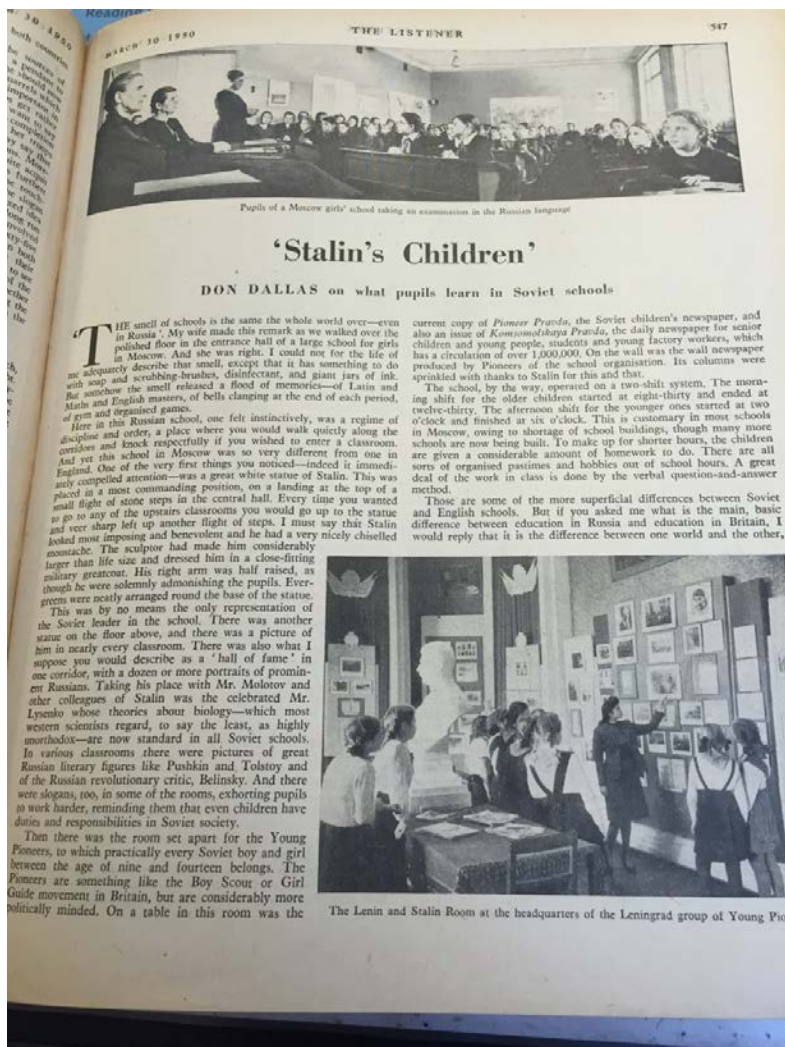


Figure 36 – *The Listener*, 30 March 1950, page 547.



Figure 37 – BBC portrait photograph of Mary Somerville (undated).



Figure 38 – BBC portrait photograph of Isa Benzie (undated).

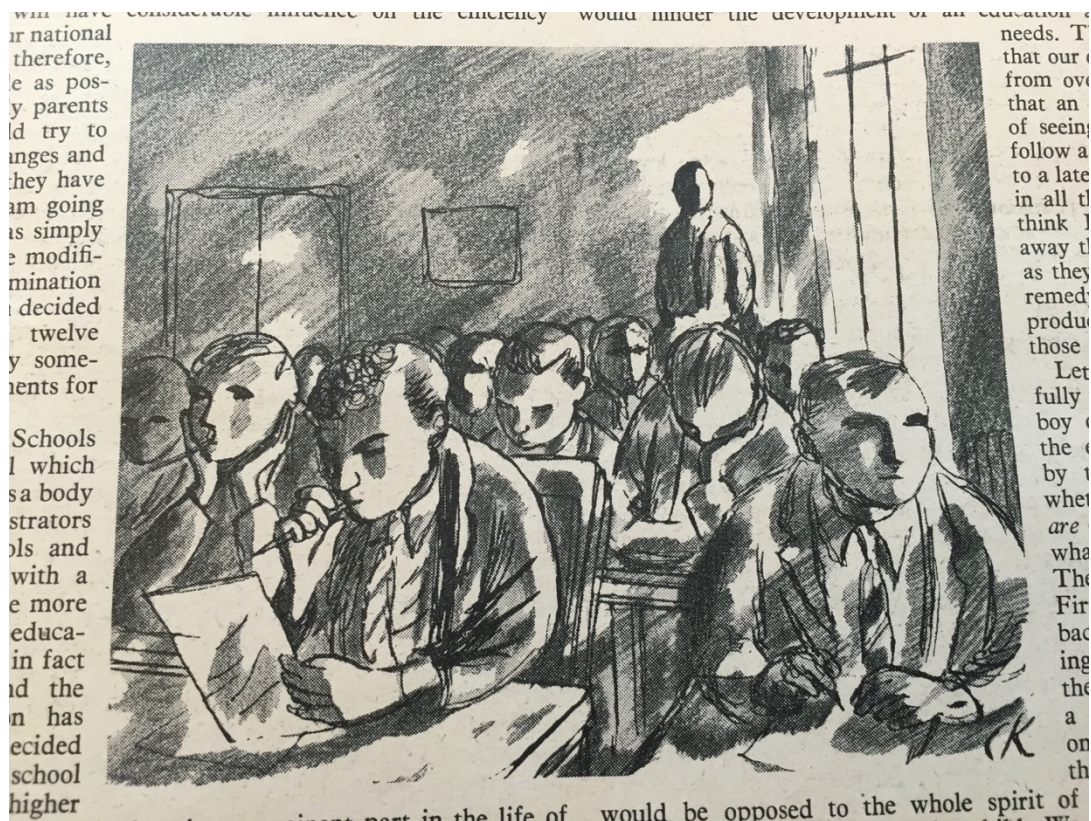


Figure 39 – *The Listener* Eric James on 'Educational Reform or Retrogression', 6 January 1949.



Figure 40 – BBC photograph of Robert Birley for Reith Lectures, 1949.



Figure 41 – BBC photograph of Benny Hill (left), ventriloquist puppet Archie Andrews and Peter Brough (right): BBC Light 1950-1958, later televised by Associated Rediffusion.



Figure 42 – Photograph of Jenifer Wayne, BBC scriptwriter Jenifer Wayne visits a pet market near Bishopsgate in London while researching a radio documentary called 'Pets'. Original publication: Picture Post, 4555, published 1948.
www.gettyimages.co.uk



Figure 43 – *BBC Year Book 1952* photograph of ‘Top of the Form’ participants Sweden versus London. Wynford Vaughan Thomas explains the use of the microphone.



Figure 44 – Photograph of John Frederick Wolfenden, Baron Wolfenden by Godfrey Argent, National Portrait Gallery, NPG x165818.



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Figure 45 – *The Listener* 10 April 1958, page 640.



Figure 46 – Still from ‘Dockland’ documentary (Duncan Ross) *The Listener* July – December 1953, Page 742.



Scene from ‘Juvenile Court’, a documentary programme on ‘The Course of Justice’, televised on April 28

Figure 47 – Photograph from ‘Juvenile Court’, *The Listener* 14 May 1953 page 814. (Reminiscent in composition of the nineteenth century painting of the son of a Royalist being interrogated in the English Civil War: ‘When did you last see your father’ by William Frederick Yeames).



Figure 48 – Still from dramatized documentary on ‘Family Service Units’ *The Listener*, 10 January 1957, page 76.

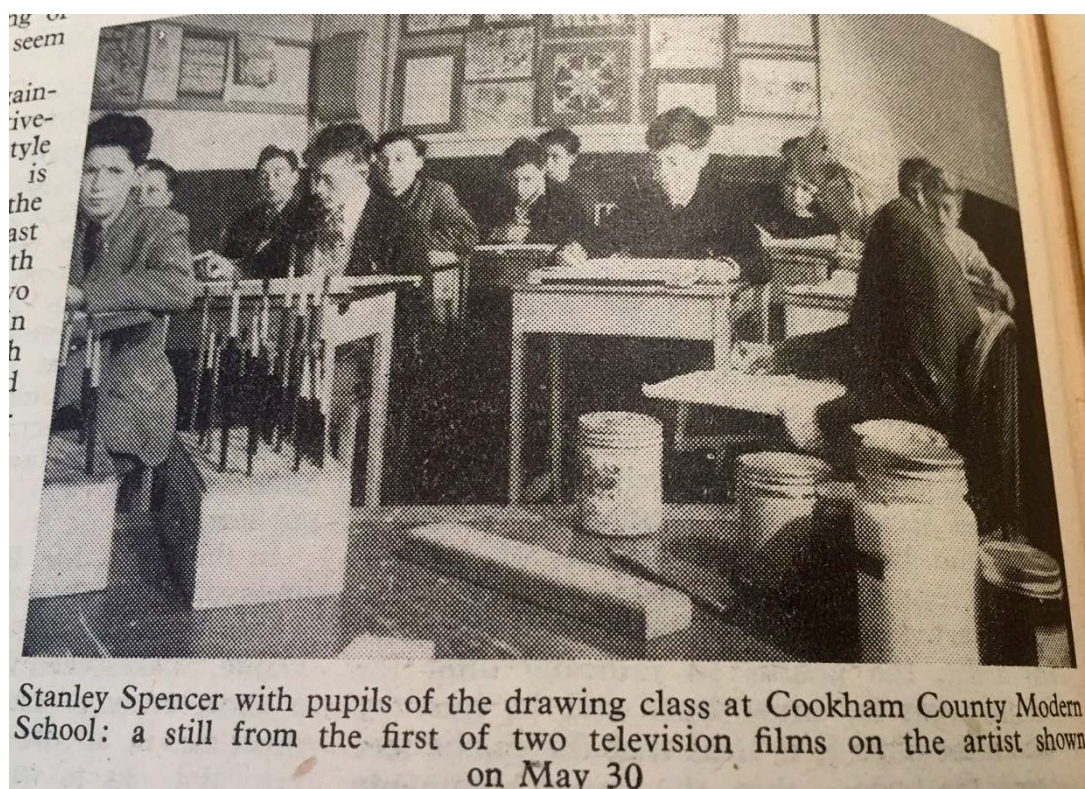


Figure 49 – Still from *The Listener*, 7 June 1956, page 772.

CRISIS FOR THE SCHOOLS

BY

DR. ERIC JAMES

*High Master of Manchester Grammar School,
formerly an Assistant Master at Winchester College.*

The country faces a crisis in the secondary education of boys and girls. Many believe that in face of the demand for "comprehensive schools" the grammar schools are in peril of their life.

Are teachers, on whom the next generation depends, being paid enough to get the best? And are we teaching the right things? Is science, for example, becoming too much of a specialist subject instead of being an essential part of a general education?

Questions such as these are set against the background of changing home and social life. The Welfare State, television and radio, new attitudes to religion, are among the vital influences on the schools and their pupils.

Dr. James discusses the problems presented by this crisis in education. His articles should be read by every school teacher, every parent and everyone interested in the moral and educational welfare of the nation.



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If you have any difficulty, please send a postcard to the Circulation Manager, Kemsley House, London, W.C.1.

Figure 50 – Advert from *Times Educational Supplement*, 1953.

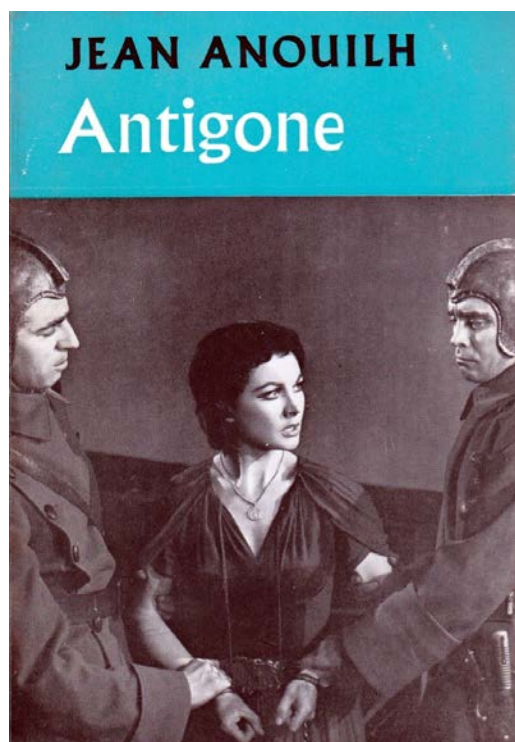


Figure 51 – Cover illustration from a copy of Jean Anouilh's *Antigone* showing Vivienne Leigh. Leigh played the lead role in the Old Vic theatre company production, which opened in February 1949.

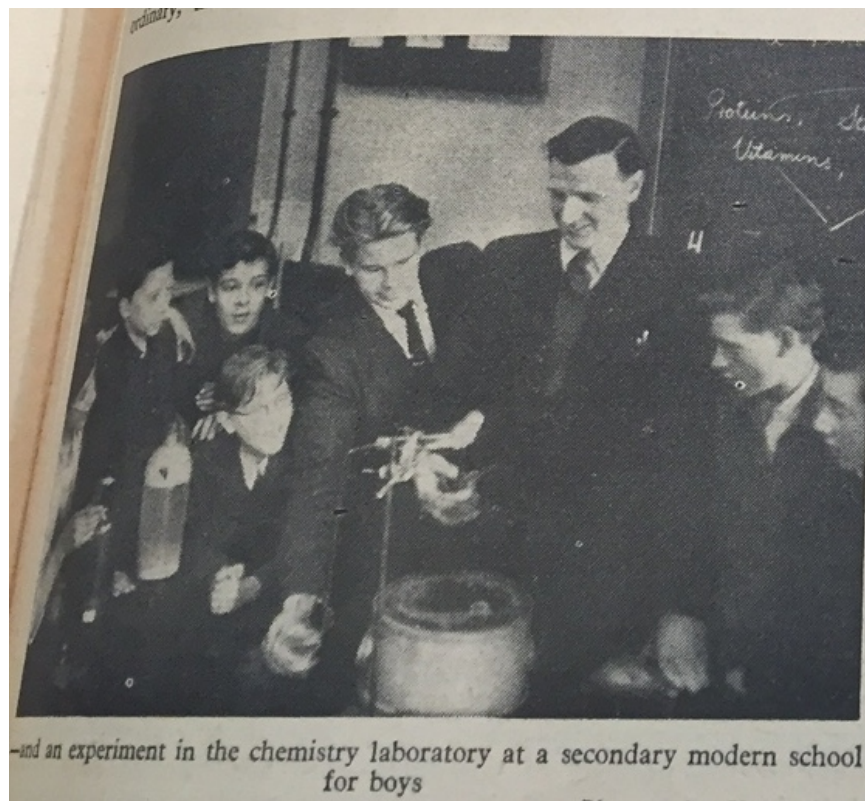


Figure 52 – Photograph of a science lesson, *The Listener*, 1957.



Figure 53 – Still from Elaine Morgan’s ‘Eleven- Plus’ *The Listener*, 31 January 1957, page 203.

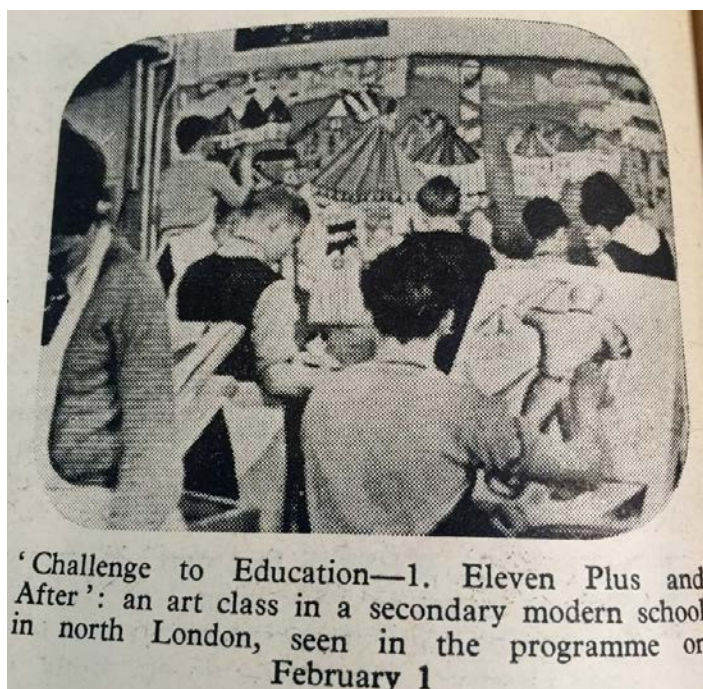


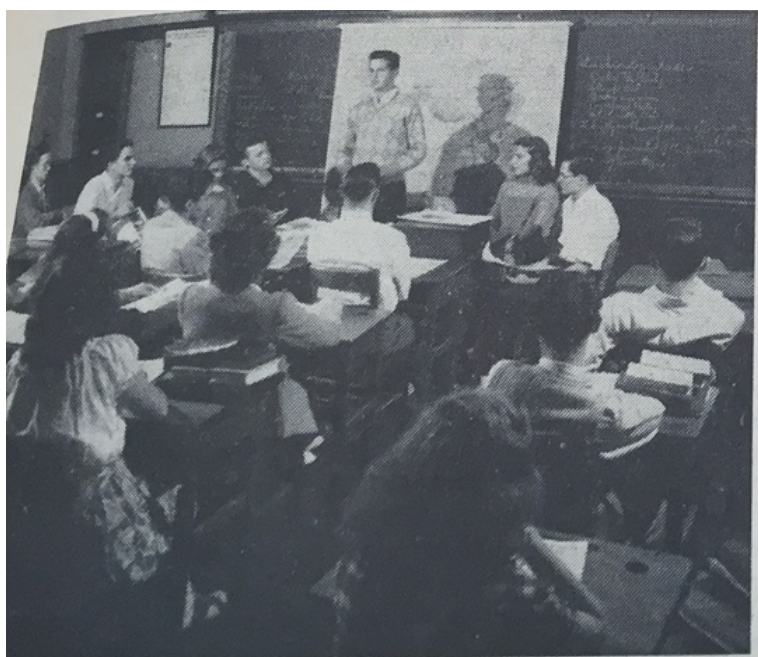
Figure 54 – Still from 'Challenge to Education' *The Listener*, 7 February 1957, page 242.



Figure 55 – *The Listener*, 3 October 1957.



Figure 56 – Photograph of Brian Simon seated with school children from the USSR, from a photograph album of Shena Simon & Brian Simon's 1955 trip to Moscow: Newsam Archives, IoE/UCL, SIM/6/1/6.



oom in an American high school: a pupil addressing the class during a course on American history

Figure 57 – *The Listener*, 25 July 1957, page 127.



Figure 58 – *The Listener* Advert for Schweppes, 12 September 1957.

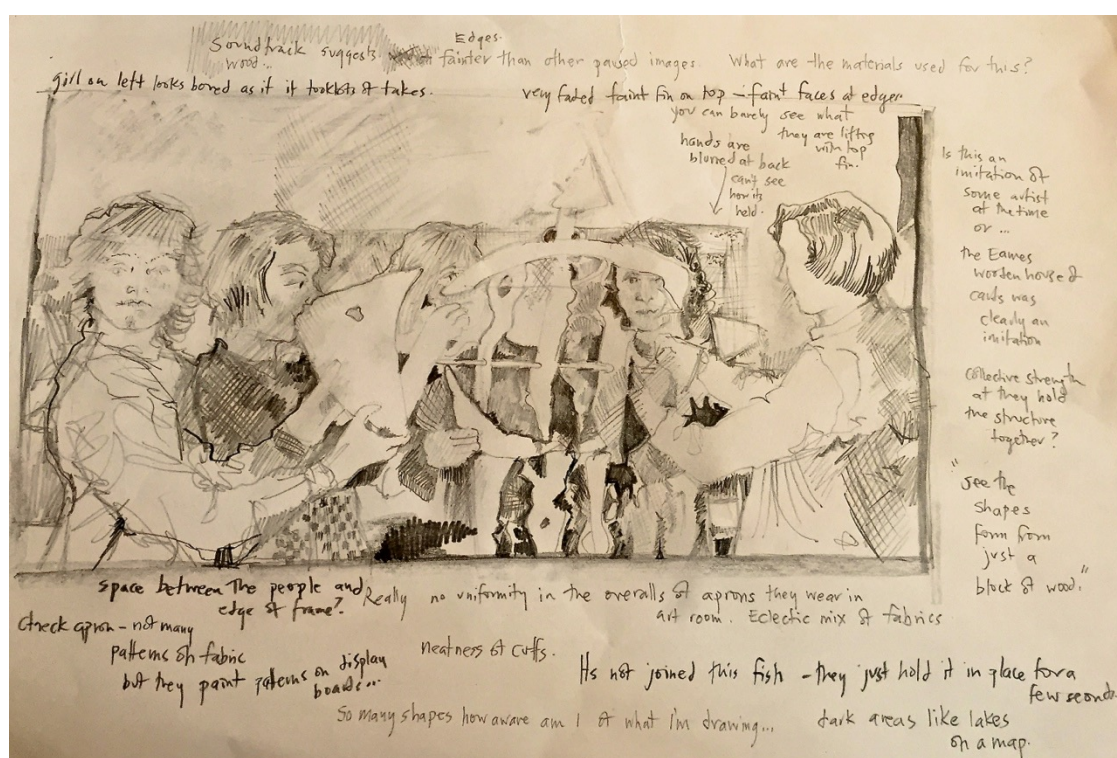


Figure 59 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from the BFI collection of *Mainly for Women: Mayfield School for Girls* (1959). This sketch shows pupils posed in the art room assembling individual parts of a hanging sculpture they are making together.



Figure 60 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from the BFI collection of *Mainly for Women: Mayfield School for Girls* (1959). This sketch shows two pupils in the art department assembling a house of cards they have made.

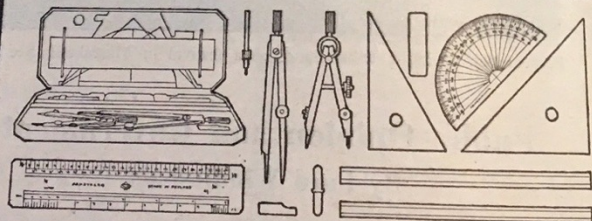


Figure 61 – Cover photograph from *The Listener* 9 April 1959 illustrating article by Maurice de Sausmarez.



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Figure 62 — *The Listener*, 22 August 1963.



Figure 63 – *The Listener*, advert with Cuisenaire Rods reproduced repeatedly early 1960s.

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Figure 64 – *The Listener*, 11 January 1962.



Figure 65 – Still from Associated Rediffusion television series ‘Our Street’ (1960)
Michael Ingrams’s innovative drama documentary was based in Ulric Street,
Camberwell, South London before it was demolished.



Figure 66 – Still from Associated Rediffusion television series ‘Our Street’ (1960)
Michael Ingrams’s innovative drama documentary was based in Ulric Street,
Camberwell, South London before it was demolished.



Figure 67 – Still from Associated Rediffusion television series ‘Our Street’ (1960)
Michael Ingrams’s innovative drama documentary was based in Ulric Street,
Camberwell, South London before it was demolished.



Figure 68 – Still from Associated Rediffusion television series ‘Our Street’ (1960)
Michael Ingrams’s innovative drama documentary was based in Ulric Street,
Camberwell, South London before it was demolished.



Figure 69 – Still from Associated Rediffusion television series ‘Our Street’ (1960)
Michael Ingrams’s innovative drama documentary was based in Ulric Street,
Camberwell, South London before it was demolished.



Figure 70 – *The Listener*, 14 January 1965.

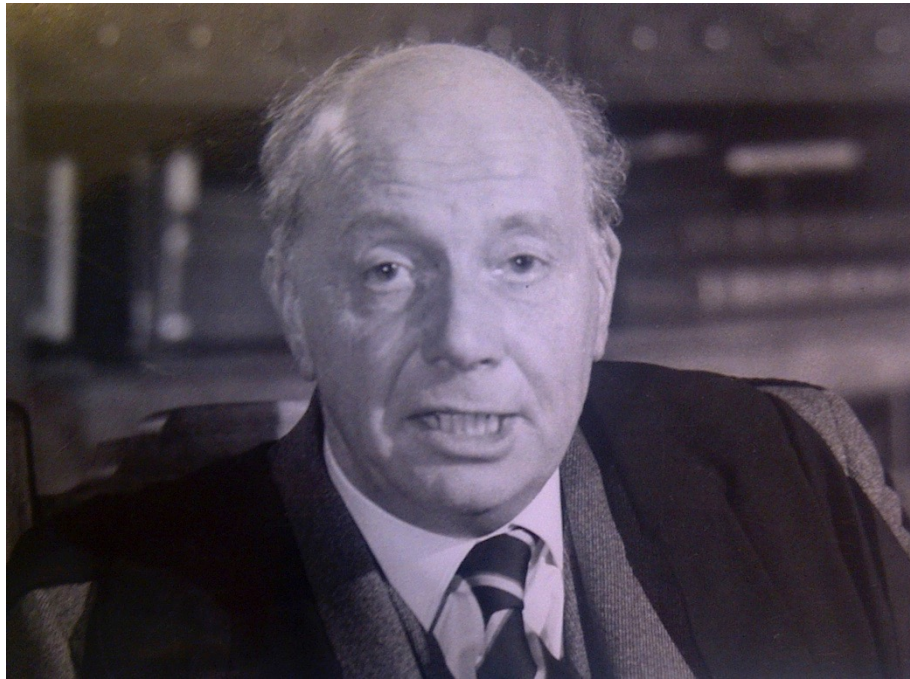


Figure 71 – BBC promotional photograph of Frank Holland from ‘The Schools’ (1962) (BBC WAC).


The Rotarian Reports

3. EDUCATION—UNESCO Is Born

By H. Raymond King

A new international body was born in London, November 16, 1945. Its name is long—the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—but by common consent it has been alphabetically foreshortened to UNESCO.

It stems from several preparatory efforts, including “an unofficial conference” in London staged early in 1944 by the International Service Committee of District 13 of Rotary International. Several Ministers of Education, wartime exiles living in England, and representatives of various internationally minded organizations took part. The elaborate report they prepared was described by Sydney W. Pascall, Past President of Rotary International, in The Sub-



THE
AUTHOR

C.M.G., Canadian university principal, introduce the scene of the deliberations: the Institute of Civil Engineers, Great George Street, Westminster:

Figure 72 – *The Rotarian*, February 1946.



Figure 73 – Photograph of Churchfields Secondary School West Bromwich (1957), RIBAPix: RIBA76512, photographer Colin Westwood. Library Reference: BM/SCH/1/F (CWN 11851).



‘King’s Hill Modern’, a dramatized documentary programme: a class in the school with Nicholas Selby as the master

Figure 74 –*The Listener*, 25 August 1960, page 316.



Figure 75 – Screenshot from a paused frame from John Krish ‘Our School’ (1962)



Figure 76 – Still of Marion Knight at John Pounds Secondary Modern (1962/63) in John Boorman *Adventures of a Suburban Boy* (London: Faber, 2003), 100.

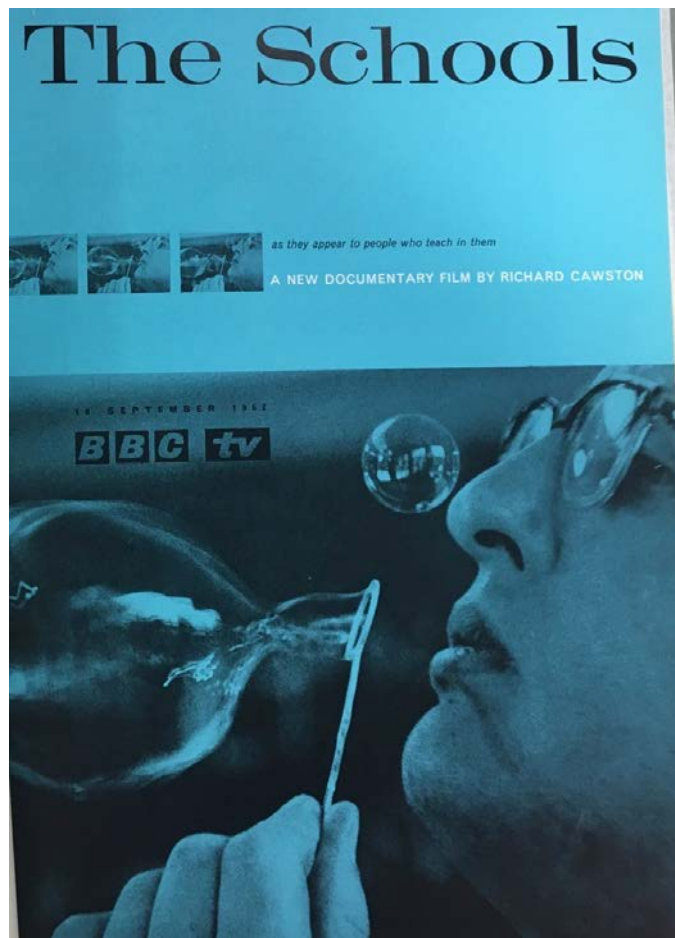


Figure 77 – BBC Promotional material for ‘The Schools’ (1962) including a still photograph of Emmens blowing bubbles (BBC WAC).



Figure 78 – Photograph from ‘Landmarks: The School’ (1964) source unknown.



Figure 79 – Photograph by Roger Mayne of Warslow Secondary School, teenage girls talking during a maths lesson (1964), RMM #102083385, Mary Evans Picture Library.



Figure 80 – Still image from Kidbrooke Comprehensive school from 'Big School Question Flares Up', 11.1.65. www.britishpathe.com.



Figure 81 – Photograph of Woodberry Down Secondary School, Stoke Newington, London: the hexagonal assembly hall seen from the upper gallery (1955) RIBApix: RIBA52785, photographer: John Maltby, Library Reference: Maltby 32/ABN (MAL26337).



2. A group of First Year Children. In the background the main Assembly Hall

Figure 82 – Illustration 2: ‘A group of First Year Children. In the background the main Assembly Hall.’ in H R Chetwynd *Comprehensive School: The Story of Woodberry Down* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960) facing page 48.



Figure 83 – Photograph of Mayfield School playground (source unknown).



Figure 84 – Still image from Richard Cawston's 'The Schools' (1962).



Figure 85 – Still image from Richard Cawston's 'The Schools' (1962).



Figure 86 – Still image from Richard Cawston's 'The Schools' (1962).



Figure 87 – Still image from Richard Cawston's 'The Schools' (1962).



Figure 88 – Cover illustration from *The Listener* Vol. LXXI No. 1822, 27 February 1964, to accompany article by Raymond King 'Going Comprehensive' page 336.



Figure 89 – Photograph of Marion Knight from 1962/63 used to illustrate BFI John Boorman Retrospective listings March – April 2013.



Figure 90 – Photograph of Jeanne Moreau, from 'Jules et Jim' (1962) directed by Francois Truffaut.



Figure 91 – Still from 'Marion Knight' (1963): Marion and Nigel on a moped.



Figure 92 – Still from 'Jules et Jim' (1962) Serge Rezvani & Jeanne Moreau cycling.



Figure 93 – Pencil drawing on paper by Lottie Hoare showing one paused frame from moving image footage from ‘Landmarks: The School’ (1964) showing two girls talking to the camera during an outdoor science lesson near a stream.



Figure 94 – Still from ‘Marion Knight’ (1963): Mrs Butler and Marion talking at the Methodist Youth Club.

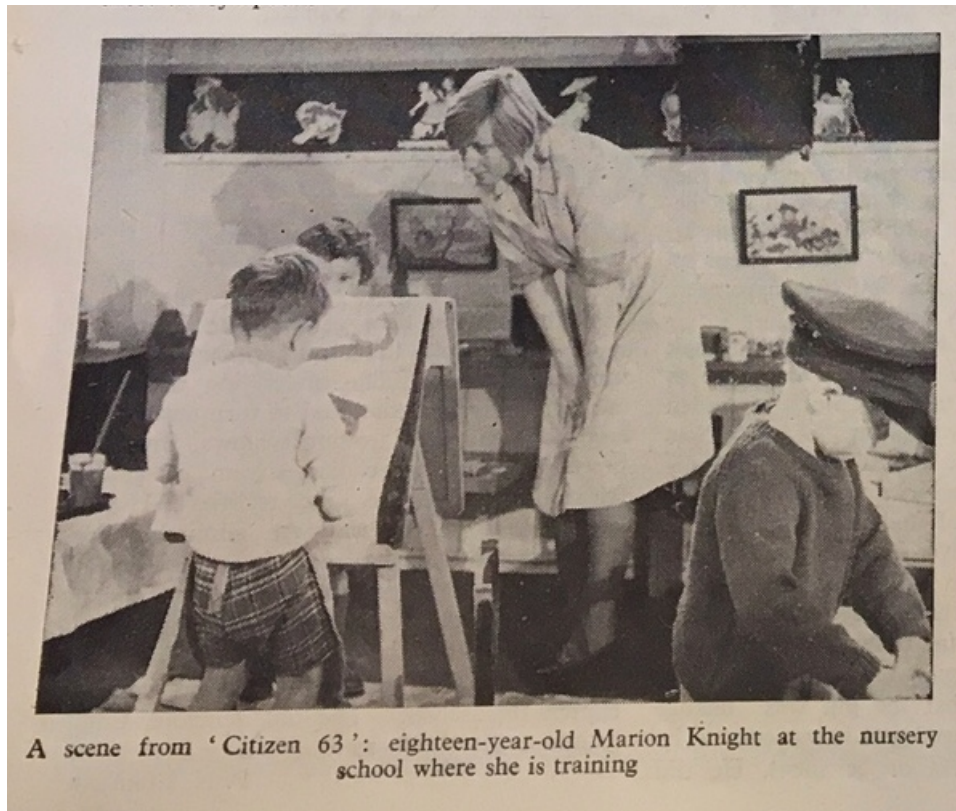


Figure 95 Still of Marion working in a nursery school, *The Listener*, 19 September 1963.



Figure 96 – Still image from a dramatized version of Jane Eyre, *The Listener*, 11 April 1963.



Figure 97 – Still from ‘Marion Knight’ (1963): Marion & the view from her bedroom.

Bibliography

Archive Collections

- Paper files and microfilmed scripts from BBC Written Archive Centre, Caversham, Reading
as identified in footnotes of this study
- Papers of George Ivan Smith, Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections, Oxford
- British Library Sound Archive, London: recordings identified in footnotes of this study
- Papers of Mark Abrams, Churchill Archive Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge
- Papers of Michael Ramsey, Manuscripts and Archives, Lambeth Palace Library, London
- Armed Forces Service Records, The National Archives, Kew
- Papers of Sir Christopher Cox, The National Archives, Kew
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